Volume 28, No. 1 Spring Number, 1939

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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Communications on general Association matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, Friends' Historical Association, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

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Any person, whether or not a member of the Society of Friends, who is interested in the purposes of the ASSOCIATION, is eligible for membership. Applications should be sent to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, John W. Cadbury, Jr., Moorestown, New Jersey. Members are especially urged to invite their friends to join, and, in case of their assent, to send their names as nominations to the Membership Committee.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

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Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

THE ANNUAL MEETING of Friends' Historical Association was held in the meeting house at 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, on Second-day, 11th mo. 28, 1938, at 8.15 p. m. At the business meeting the President and Treasurer presented their annual reports, and the members elected the Directors listed on the opposite page. The Directors later met for a brief organization meeting, and re-elected the officers.

At the close of the business meeting, Henry J. Cadbury gave the address of the evening on the subject: "The Hangings at Boston 1659-1661: Motives and Sequels." Dr. Cadbury raised some interesting questions, and threw fresh light upon possible answers, as to why in young America, the land of the free and the refuge of the non-conformist, the Quakers should have been treated with harsher barbarity than in England, where no Quaker was hanged for his religious convictions. The material which he presented, however, was not in shape which he deemed satisfactory for publication, and Dr. Cadbury did not wish at this time to give his manuscript to the Editor for the BULLETIN.

After Dr. Cadbury's address, those present were invited upstairs to a collation, and for the usual social opportunity.

HINSHAW'S ENCYCLOPEDIA OF QUAKER GENEALOGY

THE FIRST volume of Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy,* covering the thirty-three oldest meetings of North Carolina, appeared in 1936. We had heard of it before its actual appearance, and knew it represented a very ambitious plan—no less than the orderly excerpting of personal, especially genealogical, information from the original

record books of all American monthly meetings; but the book itself carried a conviction of magnitude that no advance notices could achieve. It was at once obvious that this book would become an essential reference work for the genealogists and historians of America.

The second volume has now appeared, covering the four great monthly meetings of Salem, Burlington, Philadelphia, and Falls. This volume has 1126 pages and is of course of special interest to families of Philadelphia and environs. Records of both branches of all four meetings after the separation of 1827-28 are given without distinction.

A reference to the list of abbreviations shows the variety of information excerpted: births, burials (with specification of twelve different burial grounds), certificates (from or to a specified meeting), children, condemnations, deaths, disownments, liberations for marriage, marriages, marriages contrary to discipline, removals, reinstatements, and others not conveniently listed, with dates and sources of information. There are brief historical introductions to the records of the several meetings by Thomas E. Drake and a general introduction by Thomas W. Marshall, to whom William Wade Hinshaw makes most generous acknowledgment of indebtedness for his devoted and skilful work in compiling and tabulating the mass of raw data. Of course the entire work is indexed.

To genealogists the significance of this work is obvious, but even to them it may be long before the full measure of their indebtedness to William Wade Hinshaw becomes clear. Over much of the period from the 1680's to about 1850 the Quaker records were, with few exceptions, the *only ones of the kind kept in the country*; and as William Hinshaw estimates that some forty million living Americans are connected with the Quakers, there should certainly be a wide range of genealogical interest in the book. The historian, too, will use it to check his records; the editor to find the true spelling of an illegible name, or to ascertain whether two occurrences of a name refer to the same or to different individuals. May we hope that the support given to these volumes will encourage William Wade Hinshaw to carry his great work through to completion.

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS OR UNPUBLISHED

THIS list of present or recent studies in Quakerism follows the method of presentation used a year ago (BULLETIN, 27 (1938) : 37 ff; cf. also 17: 79 ff). Because of their bibliographical importance two studies in which Quaker publications will play only a minor part are included, viz. those of Professors Sloane and Wing. The latter in particular since it covers the first and the most productive half century of Quaker publication will include thousands of Quaker pamphlets and books.

Information of other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Francis Charles Anscombe, Salem College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. *The Contribution of the Quakers to the Reconstruction of the Southern States.* (Pt. 1, Baltimore Association; Pt. 2, Friends' Freedmen's Association.) University of North Carolina, History, A.M. and Ph.D. 1924 and 1926. Manuscript completed.

Edward C. O. Beatty, Northern Illinois State Teachers College, De Kalb, Illinois. *William Penn as Social Philosopher.* (An investigation from Penn's writings, printed and in manuscript, of his political, economic, and social ideas.) University of Chicago, History, Ph.D. 1936. To be published by the Columbia University Press, late spring, 1939.

Jane Bennett, 41 Avon Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts. *The Society of Friends in International Relations from 1914 to 1938.* (Limited to American Quakerism.) Radcliffe College, Government, A.B. 1939. Manuscript almost completed.

J. T. A. Burke, 4 Longfield Road, London W. 5, England. *Benjamin West, P. R. A.* (Biographical study of an American artist who played a leading part in Anglo-American relations, 1770-1820.) Yale, General Studies, M.A. 1937. Manuscript undergoing revision.

William W. Comfort, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. *Stephen Grellet.* To be published in England in 1939 or 1940.

Jack Costikyan, R. F. D. 2, Stafford Springs, Connecticut. *The Early Quakers in America, 1656-1783.* (A history of the Quakers from their arrival in America until the end of the American Revolution.) Awarded

Hitchcock Prize in Church History in 1930-1931 by the Union Theological Seminary, New York City. Manuscript completed.

Thomas Franklin Currier, Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts. *Letters of Elizabeth Lloyd of Philadelphia and the Whittiers* (with an introduction). (Attractive picture of social life among the Quaker abolitionists in Philadelphia in the eighteen-forties.) Preparation of copy almost completed. To be published by Harvard University Press, 1939.

Arthur A. Ekirch, 115 Grandview Avenue, White Plains, New York. *Thomas Eddy: His Ideas and Interests.* (Deals mostly with Eddy's philanthropic work in New York City.) Columbia University, History, A.M. 1938. Completed.

Emmet Manly Frazer, 2818 Wellington Street, Richmond, Virginia. *The Development of the Ministry in the Religious Society of Friends.* (No attempt to cover doctrines or history of the Society except as these affect the ministry of any particular period.) Duke University, Graduate School of Religion, A.M. 1938.

Charles D. Gelatt, 630 North Lake Street, Madison, Wisconsin. *The Quaker Influence on Ralph Waldo Emerson.* (Will show that Emerson in certain of his actions was strongly influenced by Quakerism.) University of Wisconsin, English, A.M. 1939. Manuscript practically completed.

John Lincoln Harman, 815 First Place, Plainfield, New Jersey. *The Contribution of the Quakers to Pacifism in the Seventeenth Century.* (Will show the influence of Quaker pacifist doctrines upon other religious sects.) Harvard College, History and Literature, A.B. 1936. Completed.

Lewis M. Hoskins, Newberg, Oregon. *The Relations of the Quakers and the Baptists in American Colonial History.* (Covers the actual contacts and relationships of the two sects, especially in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.) Haverford College, History, A.M. 1939. Material partly completed.

Werner Lutz Janney, Lincoln, Virginia. *The Speech of the Quakers, with Particular Reference to Loudoun County, Virginia.* (A study of the peculiar words and phrases used by the Quakers, with special reference to the speech of the members of Goose Creek Meeting, Virginia.) University of Virginia, English, Ph.D. 1939. Material collected and manuscript in preparation.

Rachel H. King, Revell Hall, East Northfield, Massachusetts. *George Fox and the Light Within, 1650-1660.* (A study of Fox's interpretation of the expression, "the Light Within.") Yale, Religion, Ph.D. 1937. Completed.

Sceva B. Laughlin, 1705 Court Street, Salem, Oregon. *Friends in Who's Who in America.* (Will give names, place of birth, present residence, occupation, number of children, etc.) Material being collected.

Julian McCreary, George School, Pennsylvania. *Music in Friends' Schools.* Eastman School of Music, Music, M.Mus. 1939. Material undergoing revision.

Ethel McDaniel, Wilkinson, Indiana. *Contribution of the Friends' Church to Education in Indiana.* (A survey of Quaker education in Indiana and a brief history of the individual schools.) Butler University, History, M. A. 1935. To be published by the Indiana State Historical Society.

Arthur J. Mekeel, South Ashfield, Massachusetts. *The Quakers in the American Revolution.* Harvard, History, Ph.D. 1939. Research partly finished.

Edward R. Miller, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. *The Educational Program of a Church-Related College.* (An evaluative study of Whittier College of the Society of Friends.) Yale, Religious Education, Ph.D. 1940. Work partially completed.

Russell S. Mortimer, The University, Leeds 2, England. *History of Friends in Bristol in the Seventeenth Century.* (The internal history of Bristol Meeting and its relations with the wider circle of Friends and local civic life, 1654-1702.) Bristol University, History, M.A. 1940. Material partly collected.

Theodore K. Noss, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana. *The Awakening of the Quaker Movement against Negro Slavery in Colonial Pennsylvania and West New Jersey.* (The study begins with a chapter on Friends in Barbados and ends with the elimination of slavery from the membership of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.) University of Chicago, Sociology, M.A. 1934.

Edwin Olson, 103 Waverly Place, New York City. *Slavery in New York.* (Covers all phases from 1626 to 1827, including the Quaker influence, especially in chapters on abolition and education.) New York University, History, Ph.D. 1938.

Ruth M. Outland, 47 Haddon Avenue, Haddonfield, New Jersey. *A History of Haddonfield Friends' School, 1782-1938.* Columbia Teachers College, M.A. 1938.

Alfons Paquet, Schaumainkai 17, Frankfurt/M., Germany. *Germantown, Quaker History in the United States of America.*

Gilbert Pope, Guilford College, North Carolina. *The Founders.* (Public lectures: 1. George Fox; 2. The Barclays—Father and Son; 3. Isaac Penington; 4. Minor Quaker Prophets.) Completed.

John H. Powell, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. *John Dickinson.* (A biography.) State University of Iowa, History, Ph.D. 1938.

Emerson B. Roberts, 327 Woodside Road, Wilkinsburg, Pennsylvania. *Quaker Families of Talbot County, Maryland.* (Relates to Taylor, Marsh, Dixon, Harwood, Stevens, Ball, Alcock, Kemp, Gary, and Bartlett families.) Completed.

Elbert Russell, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. *A Short History of Quakerism.* (A one-volume history of all phases of the Quaker movement—450 to 500 pages.) Material partly completed.

Harvey D. Seifert, 72 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *The Use by American Quakers of Passive Resistance in Social Reform.* (Covering if possible, the movement for religious freedom in colonial Massachusetts, abolition of slavery, and woman's suffrage.) Boston University, Social Ethics, Ph.D. 1940.

Barbara Damon Simison, 351 Willow Street, New Haven, Connecticut. *The Life and Letters of Lydia Maria Child.* (The letters may possibly be published as a separate volume.) Yale, English, Ph.D. Material being collected.

William Sloane, Hamilton College, Clinton, New York. *English Children's Books in the Seventeenth Century.* (Excludes most school texts and catechisms, but includes Quaker books among others.) Columbia, English, Ph.D. 1939. Almost completed.

H. F. Swansen, 411 West Grant Street, Blair, Nebraska. *A Singular Chapter of Quaker History.* (A brief study of the founding of the Quaker Meeting at Stavanger, Norway, and the planting of the immigrant enterprise in Marshall County, Iowa.) State University of Iowa, History, Ph.D. 1936. Material completed.

Marion M. Thompson, 154 Lincoln Street, Montclair, New Jersey. *The Education of Negroes in New Jersey.* (A study of the history of the education of Negroes in New Jersey from its beginnings to the present time.) Columbia University Teachers College, Ph.D. 1939.

Janet P. Whitney, Westtown, Pennsylvania. *John Woolman.* (A full biography with historical background.) To be published by the Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston, Massachusetts, in the autumn of 1940. Research begun.

Donald G. Wing, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut. *A short title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the American Colonies, and of English Books printed abroad, 1641-1700.* Proof-sheets to be distributed to American libraries within two years.

Correction: for "Marion Nicholl" read "Marion Nicholl Rawson" on page 42 of the issue of a year ago, BULLETIN, vol. 27 (1938), in the list there given of Quaker research projects.

ANNOTATIONS ON THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JOSIAH BUNTING, 1734-1813

By Martha Bunting

JOSIAH BUNTING, son of Samuel and Sarah (Fearne) Bunting, was born 9th month 19, 1734, and died 9th month 4, 1813; he married Sarah Hunt (1739-1791), daughter of John and Elizabeth Sellers Hunt, 4th month 17, 1760, at a meeting appointed by Darby Monthly Meeting and recorded in its records. In his father's house he met many eminent members of the Society of Friends, since we learn from their journals that they stopped there when traveling on religious services.

Josiah Bunting rendered civil service to the Township of Darby and important religious service to Darby Monthly Meeting of Friends; in the latter he served on important committees, and was active as overseer, elder, treasurer, and preacher. Darby Monthly Meeting was one of the earliest religious meetings established in the colonies, at first being held in the home of John Blunston prior to a letter addressed by Friends in Pennsylvania to Friends in England, dated "17 day of the First Month 1683."[1] At the time of which I write Darby Meeting was one of the largest and most active in the United States.

Thomas Scattergood of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting planned a visit to meetings of Friends in the South, and Josiah Bunting decided to accompany him; therefore we read in the minutes of Darby Monthly Meeting dated "3rd day of the 5th Month 1792" that Josiah asks for a certificate to visit meetings of the "Southern Governments." At a monthly meeting held at Darby "the 27th day of 6th Month 1793" he returns the certificate granted him together with "Certificates &c" from Friends of the "Southward." During this religious journey several letters passed between him and his children, some of which have been preserved and are in the possession of his descendants. The letters are couched in the quaint language of the period; many of them evidently written in haste, sometimes with misspelled words, as the writer at home learns of the opportunity for the conveyance of the letter to

[1] James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America,* London 1850-54, ii, 20-23.

Josiah by a traveler to the neighborhood in which Josiah was laboring at the time, or as Josiah learns of a similar opportunity to send word to his home. In a postscript of a letter to his daughter Hannah, dated Crooked Run, Virginia, 7th month 18, 1792, he writes:

> P. S. The Lord hath made our way open & prosperous before us, opening and Inlargeing the hearts of our kind friends towards us and helping us to Discharge a Large part of the Work in a Select way, for we have some times two or three such little meetings in a day Besides a Large publick Meeting, so that we have Very little time to Spare to rite or do much for our Selves; but the more our Servis the more we appear to be Qualified for servis, so that our Gracious help is often Bowed unto and at times we can acknowledge Great and Marvilous are thy work Just and True are all thy ways thou king of Saints. J. B.

The letters throw an interesting light upon relations between Quaker parents and children of the period (his wife had died the preceding year); upon the life of the community of Darby; upon the hardships incidental to a journey through the country districts of the South; upon the small groups of Friends in this region of the United States and their appreciation of the visit of Thomas Scattergood and Josiah Bunting; and upon the interest of Josiah in his farm and meadows (in his will he writes "Josiah Bunting, Farmer and Grazier"). We learn further, from the letters, of the many prominent members of the Society of Friends who visited Darby Meeting during the absence of Josiah and manifested an interest in the work he was carrying on. The following notes have been gathered to explain or annotate some of the allusions, especially to persons, found in letters to and by Josiah Bunting.

A letter of Samuel Bunting to his father, then on the religious journey referred to above, dated at Darby, 9th month 30, 1792, contains this sentence: "Many kind friends has been to see us & Desired when we wrote to remember their kind Love to you both [Thomas Scattergood and Josiah Bunting] but I Cannot mention All their names, P Yarnal & H Judge, Isaac Zane, C^{h} Williams, Huson Langstroth & many more from our neighborhood of Darby, and many other Places." Sketches of two of these Friends are given herewith.

PETER YARNALL

PETER YARNALL (son of Mordecai Yarnall, a zealous Friend), was born in 1753, and died 2d month 20, 1798. As was customary in that day, Peter served as an apprentice, to a man whose name we have not learned. When he was nineteen years of age a disagreement occurred with his master which Peter considered was of trifling importance; but he was whipped and ordered out of the shop by his master, whereupon he went to New York and enlisted. His father asked his friend John Pemberton to secure his release; this was accomplished at considerable expense to John Pemberton. In the meantime Peter's father had died, and following the advice of his kind friend, Peter was apprenticed to Stacy Potts of Trenton, New Jersey, with whom he remained until he was twenty-one years of age.

Soon after his release from apprenticeship, Peter Yarnall met Doctor De Benneville and Doctor Bond and became interested in the study of medicine, and through the interest of the latter secured a place in the hospital of Philadelphia. Peter Yarnall served in the army of the American Revolution as a surgeon's mate. Upon his relelase from the army he renewed his studies in medicine, and after an examination by doctors of the College of Physicians he received a diploma, dated February 10, 1779, immediately after which he sailed for the West Indies. Upon his return he practiced medicine and surgery in the Pennsylvania Hospital, receiving the appointment of Apothecary to this institution. He decided to follow the profession of physician and removed to Concord, Pennsylvania, for the practice thereof, where he remained until 1792; he then removed to Horsham, Pennsylvania. During his residence at Concord he married Hannah, daughter of Benjamin Sharpless, and also became so valuable in his service to the Meeting that on 6th month 5, 1782, he was appointed a recommended minister by the Concord Monthly Meeting. His first wife died in 1795 and in 1797 he married Hannah Thornton, a widow, who survived him. He had a son by his first wife, named Mordecai.

Peter Yarnall had a pleasing personality; he was tall and well-proportioned, his manners were agreeable and his conversation

was entertaining. As a physician he was skilful and inspired confidence; he was much beloved by his patients for his power to sympathize with their sufferings in mind and body. He traveled through many States of the Union in the service of the Religious Society of Friends, and in his journeys was frequently called upon to relieve the sufferings of invalids in the communities which he visited. In his Journal, John Hunt of New Jersey places Peter Yarnall among the "choice friends" who attended the meeting at Yorktown, 5th month 24, 1789. Peter Yarnall first spoke in public at the commencement of the Yearly Meeting in the 9th month, 1780, and soon thereafter received letters of sympathy, encouragement, and counsel. One dated Philadelphia, 12th month 20, 1780, was from his intimate friend Daniel Offley, Jr.; in his youth, he, like Peter, had strayed far from the path of their parents, but both were to become eminent in the ministry during their early manhood. A letter dated London Grove, 2nd month 20, 1780, from George Churchman, says in part: "Perhaps it might have been as well to have closed it (a 'supplication' of Peter) sooner. . . . I hope thou wilt clearly understand me, in the hint, that I am not censorious about it, but feel great tenderness. . . ." Peter Yarnall was apparently deeply grateful to John Pemberton for securing his release from the army and for the advice contained in a letter dated Philadelphia, 9th month 15, 1772, since this letter was found among his effects after his death.

HUSON LANGSTROTH

HUSON LANGSTROTH was born in Ireland, and when a youth he came to America; he was apprenticed to Morris Truman, who was engaged in the manufacture of paper near Darby, Pennsylvania. We have been told by Katherine (Langstroth) Smyth (Mrs. Edward B. Smyth) that the original spelling for the Longstreth family of Pennsylvania was Langstroth. Huson Langstroth was not a member of the Religious Society of Friends when he came to Darby, but it is supposed that his being placed in a family belonging to this body probably brought about his convincement, and in 10th month, 1782, he was received into membership with Friends of Darby Monthly Meeting. About this time he appeared in public testimony as a minister among Friends

and remained faithful to the gift conferred upon him until the time of his death in 1793. John Pemberton, who had been absent about seven years from America engaged in the religious service of Friends in Europe, remarked upon his return to Pennsylvania that Huson Langstroth had reached a higher plane in the ministry of the Friends during his absence than any other young minister of his acquaintance in America.

He left Darby in 1785, having received a certificate of removal from the Monthly Meeting for the Southern District of Philadelphia. Soon after his arrival in Philadelphia he married, and remained there until his death. The Yearly Meeting of Friends met in Philadelphia in 9th month, 1793. Huson Langstroth lay upon a sickbed, but such was his love and concern for the Religious Society of Friends that he was afforded strength to write an epistle, which was forwarded to the assembled members. There breathes throughout the letter a spirit of love and counsel; it was dated Philadelphia 9th month 24, 1793, and has been published in full in *Friends' Miscellany,* vol. xi (1838), pp. 374-376. The illness of Huson Langstroth proved to be yellow fever; a few days after writing the above letter he breathed his last upon earth, and his body was quickly interred in the burial ground of the Friends. Few persons knew of his death until after his burial. Thus passed a soul from the midst of Friends which in its short period of ten years' service had endeared itself to the Religious Society of Friends as well as to many personal friends. Not only had he been a force in the ministry in the meetings, but he also wrote several short essays upon subjects dear to his heart; several of these will be found in *Friends' Miscellany,* vols. ii, iv, xi.

Later in the journey with Thomas Scattergood, Josiah Bunting wrote a letter to his daughter Hannah, addressed to "Hannah Bunting Ju^{r}, Darby, To the Care of Smith & Emlen marchants, front Street Philadelphia," and dated "Virginia at R. Pleasants 5 mo 25th day 1793." In the course of this letter he writes:

> I should write oftener to you or some others, but time and want of conveyance will not always admit, our time is often much taken up with Meetings & the company of our friends and there is seldom any way to send letters but by Post which is Expensive for such poor scribles as mine and we are often deprived of that oppertunity

being a great way from the Post Roads—But I hope it will not be long before we may be favoured to see one anothers faces & convers together & that will be beyond all letters . . . we have been attending the Yearly meeting which has been large and measureably favoured with the overshadowing wing of Divine goodness, under a sence of which we took our leave of friends and have got back to R. Pleasants on our way to Richmond, my Very Dear love is to the and all my dear Children so conclude thy affectionate father

JOSIAH BUNTING

5mo 26th the meeting mention in Samuels Letter was a good one in which I think the Baptizing power of truth was witnessed, & we have since paid a Visit to the Mayor of the City & understood that they have been much satisfied with Tomys Labour amongst them he treated us kindly and Expressed his satisfaction with the meeting yesterday Both of which he attended.

ROBERT PLEASANTS

IT MAY BE of interest to inquire into the character of Josiah Bunting's host for this day. Robert Pleasants lived at Curles on the James River not far from Richmond. This was an old settlement; it was near Curles' Wharf that the plantation of Nathaniel Bacon of Bacon's Rebellion was located; at the time of Josiah Bunting's visit there was a small settlement of Friends with their religious meeting at Curles, and the most prominent Friend of the place appears to have been Robert Pleasants. At this date he was probably an elderly man, since in John Smith's MSS of 1745-6 we read: "Waited upon R. Pleasants to Meeting. Dined with R. Pleasants at Israel Pemberton's." He was very hospitable to Friends traveling in the South; there is evidence in the journals of several Friends that the meeting at Curles was often visited: Daniel Stanton in 1763; Benjamin Ferris in 1764; Richard Jordan who, when he goes north on a religious visit in 1797, passes through Curles that he may "spend a day with my ancient and honorable relative Robert Pleasants"; Richard Jordan, returning to the South and reaching Richmond 1st month 31, 1798, goes again to Curles and "tarried with Robert Pleasants." Joshua Evans [2] states in his journal for 1798 that he rode from Richmond to the home of Robert Pleasants. Nor was it only to members of the Society that Robert Pleasants was known, since

[2] See the article on page 30 ff of this issue of the BULLETIN.

Chastellux, in his *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782,* states [3] that he "reads in the public prints that a Mr. Pleasants, a Quaker on James River in Virginia, had liberated his slaves, and made a sacrifice of 3000 pounds sterling to this noble act of humanity." A John Pleasants of Virginia is also mentioned in some of the journals, but the "Mr. Pleasants" of the above is probably Robert Pleasants.

A letter from Robert Pleasants to Sarah Harrison, dated: at "Curles, in Virginia, 11th mo. 28th, 1789," says in part: "For though I wish not to depend upon man, I need not tell thee what a comfort and strength it would be, to have the company and conversation of honest Friends, engaged for the promotion of Truth in the earth. And I can't help thinking, at times, that if the faithful labourers from other places (where they seem to have enough and to spare, as in Philadelphia, &c.) were concerned to settle in some remote or distant places . . . they might come to be numbered amongst 'those who turn many to righteousness'.... I have not, however, been altogether without hope, at times, that the Father of mercies will not permit the little spark of life, even in this place, to be wholly extinguished: but rather, that there may yet be a revival in his appointed time." [4]

In a long and affectionate letter to his daughter Hannah, dated at Crooked Run, Virginia, 7th month 18, 1792, occurs this passage:

> I have rote a Number of letters to you that I have no account of your Receiving nor have I Received any from you but the Paquet by Wm Lewis I know not were [=where] to tel you to direct any more Letters to as yet. But shall wright to you as often as I can get oppertunity, I rote 3 letters a few days ago and left at Winchester, one for Martha [a daughter] & c J Hunt & wife & Zachariah Jess but I dont know which will come to hand first, I Expect to have an oppertunity to send this by our friend John hanes, Our kind friend Able Walker has accompanied us in our journey over the mountains & to most of the meetings on this side, we Expect to be at Crooked run Meeting this day and then to Smith Creek about 40 miles South & so on.

[3] Vol. ii, p. 151, note. The wording of the quotation is that of the English translator.

[4] This has been printed in *Friends' Miscellany,* vol. xi (1838), p. 172.

Appended are two notes in explanation of names here mentioned.

JOHN AND RACHEL (GIBBONS) HUNT

JOHN HUNT, of Darby, Pennsylvania, son of John and Elizabeth (Sellers) Hunt, was born in 1753; married Rachel, daughter of Joseph and Margery (Hannum) Gibbons; died 8th month 26, 1836. John Hunt was a brother of the wife of Josiah Bunting.

He was a faithful member of the Religious Society of Friends, being appointed an elder of this Society in 1807, in which capacity he served the Darby Monthly Meeting of Friends until the time of his death. He was a man beloved and respected for his courteousness in his social life and his justness in his business dealings. He was much troubled by the lack of attendance, especially at the week-day meeting, of many of the members of the Darby Meeting; although he was engaged in an extensive business, he never allowed this pursuit to interfere with his religious duties. He also was deeply concerned that "a sound and living ministry be preserved" in the Religious Society of Friends. Consult *Friends' Miscellany,* vol. ix, pp. 277-279; minutes of Darby Monthly Meeting.

Rachel (Gibbons) Hunt became active in the ministry of Friends, and traveled as a minister to meetings of the United States. She was also known for her literary ability; she wrote a description of her travels in the religious service of Friends, essays imbued with piety and a love of nature as well as poems of the same type; these were published in book form during 1843, under the title *Autumnal Fruits and Flowers.* Rachel Hunt was a native of Westtown Township, Pennsylvania, and we find the above book in the section "Bibliography of Chester County," in *History of Chester County,* Futhey and Cope, p. 318.

ZACHARIAH JESS

ZACHARIAH JESS, of Springfield, Salem County, New Jersey, married Rebeckah (or Rebecca) Pedrick, also of Salem County, 12th month 1, 1774, at a meeting appointed by Salem Monthly Meeting and held at Piles Grove, New Jersey.

Judging from the number of certificates of removal granted him and his wife, as recorded in Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy*, vol. ii, the couple led a restless life. They were granted a certificate by Salem Monthly Meeting on 11th month 24, 1777, for removal to Evesham Monthly Meeting; from here they must have removed to Abington, for, though Abington's records are not yet available in Hinshaw's *Genealogy*, the records of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting show that Zachariah and his wife were received in this meeting on certificate from Abington on 3d month 26, 1784, and that they were granted a certificate of removal to Haddonfield the following year, on 5th month 27. Haddonfield's records are also not yet published; but the Jesses removed later to Wilmington, Delaware. As this letter indicates, he was living in Darby in 1792. It appears that he had a sincere regard for Josiah Bunting, for he wrote a letter to him dated at Darby, 6th month 25, 1792, in which he addresses Josiah as "Beloved Friend."

Zachariah Jess was the author of *A Compendious System of Practical Surveying*, Wilmington 1799; and of *The American Tutor's Assistant Improved; or, A Compendious System of Decimal, Practical Arithmetic*, Wilmington 1800. (See Mary Elizabeth Sinnott, *Annals of the Sinnott, Rogers, . . . and Allied Families*, Philadelphia, p. 139.) He is believed to have been engaged in school teaching or publishing in Wilmington.

A letter of Elizabeth Bunting to her father, dated at Darby, 11th month 25, 1792, says in part:

> Dear & Honoured Father—
>
> . . . We have had the company of our Dear Friends, John Pemberton and David Sands . . . David said we felt as his own Children; he told me when we wrote to thee to remember him affectionately to thee. David Sands says thee has took a good Cause and he hopes thee will be faithful & the will get thy reward.

DAVID SANDS

DAVID SANDS was of New Cornwall, New York. He was a traveling Friend and frequently was in company with John Pemberton, of Pennsylvania. Thus we find in John Pemberton's journal under the date 2nd month 18th, 1781: "was at New

Garden meeting, where also David Sands and Samuel Emlen attended. . . . Next day was at the Quarterly meeting at London Grove. . . . After the youth's meeting, held the day following, I set out with David Sands, Samuel Emlen, and other Friends towards Deer Creek." On this same religious journey we learn that they went home with James Rigbie: "where Truth influenced our worthy friend David Sands to speak pertinently in his family. . . ." We find brief accounts of David Sands in other journals and in *Friends' Miscellany,* in which some of the journals are printed. In the journal of Robert Willis we read: "Coming to Long Island we attended the Yearly Meeting there, which held two days; . . . crossing the North river we had a meeting at David Sands's, at New Cornwall. He was then from home on a religious visit to the eastward, having a serviceable gift in the ministry." David Sands had great sympathy with the work Josiah Bunting was doing in his religious journey in the southern States, as is shown by the quotation from the letter of Hannah Bunting to her father, given above.

HESSIAN FLY

A LETTER from Samuel Bunting to his father, Josiah Bunting, dated 6th month 3, 1793, speaks of the damage that may be done to the crops by the "hesion fly." In this connection it is interesting to quote from *New Travels in the United States of America,* by J. P. Brissot de Warville, p. 240, who attended a meeting of The Agricultural Society in Philadelphia about which he reports in Letter xv, September 2, 1788. The subject of the meeting was the Hessian fly. "The King of England, fearing that this insect might pass into his island, had just prohibited the importation of American wheat. . . . Many farmers present at this meeting, from their own experience and that of neighbours and correspondents, declared, that the insect deposited its eggs, not in the ear, but in the stalk; so that they were well convinced, that, on threshing the wheat, there could be nothing to fear that the eggs would mix with the grain; and consequently they could not be communicated with the grain."

The Hession fly is mentioned in John Hunt's Journal, referred to in *Friends' Miscellany* x, 252.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER AND HIS MIDDLE WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS

By Charles Arthur Hawley

IN 1833 when Whittier espoused the cause of abolitionism, he renounced the life of ease which a literary career might have brought him. He no longer sought to carve out a career, but in seeking a larger cause he found himself. The decision did however bring him to the point where he formulated an idea of the relative merit of humanitarianism. This came easily to him from his Quaker background.

His Quaker friends also brought him into direct relation with the Middle West, especially with Iowa. In 1836 the Quakers settled Salem, and soon after, Whittier's hero, William Forster, visited the settlement. The work of Reuben Dorland and Benjamin Lundy also heightened Whittier's interest in what seemed to him the region where the issue of slavery would be forever determined.

Whittier was very ardent in his likes and dislikes. An example of the latter is seen in his bringing about the defeat of Augustus Caesar Dodge who represented the Territory of Iowa from 1840 to 1846 in Congress. Dodge's sympathy with slavery, an inheritance from certain Southern influences, was quite unlike that of his own father whose sympathy was with the abolitionists.

In January 1847, when Whittier became Corresponding Editor of the *National Era*, he prepared to muster all his ability to defeat Dodge. To achieve this end, he familiarized himself thoroughly with the political and religious conditions of the Middle West. In 1846, when Iowa was admitted to the Union, Dodge's prestige accordingly increased, a fact which made Whittier all the more determined to destroy Dodge.

In 1848 when Iowa sent Dodge to the United States Senate as its first United States Senator, Whittier turned his pen to the relentless issue. In stinging editorials he called upon the Quakers and all like-minded persons to save the State of Iowa from disgrace[1]

[1] The present writer has collected Whittier's editorials bearing on the Dodge controversy in an article entitled "Whittier and Iowa," in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April 1936. He is now working on a biographical study of Whittier.

and from Dodge and all his sympathizers. Finally Whittier won. In 1855 James Harlan replaced Dodge in the Senate.

Throughout Whittier's campaign against Dodge he became more and more interested in the prairie States. At one time he even contemplated making his home in the Middle West. Ill health prevented his actually doing this, but it did not interfere with his interest in and his love for the new civilization which he, like Emerson, believed would determine the destiny of the new world. Even as late as 1871 Whittier half promised to journey out to his beloved Quaker colony, Salem, to attend the commencement exercises. But this visit, too, was never realized.

Soon after the settlement of Salem in 1836 Reuben Dorland came to Salem to found an academy, following a policy wholly in keeping with the desire of the Friends to promote education. Dorland's success was phenomenal.[2] About 1850, largely because of Whittier's review in the *National Era* of Bayard Taylor's *Eldorado*, a large number of Salem friends set out for California. Among this number was Reuben Dorland, who went in the hope of regaining his health which he had overtaxed in his effort to build and maintain his academy. His death in 1852 however put an end to the work as he had begun it, but in no way changed the purpose of the Salem Quakers to provide higher education for the State of Iowa.

As soon as word came back to Salem that Dorland had found his grave in the sea, the people met and voted to found a college. The war interrupted the well-laid plans, and not until May 18, 1867, were the articles of incorporation adopted.

By this time Whittier was the most widely known and the most forceful Quaker writer in America. His influence over the Middle West reached not only the Quaker settlements but also those interested in literature and humanitarian reform. Nor did his influence wane. When Alcott visited Iowa and the neighboring States in the 1880's, he found that Whittier still was more widely read than any other author.

As a result of Whittier's popularity, a movement had started almost immediately after the death of Dorland to name the

[2] The story of Dorland has been told by the present writer in the *Palimpsest* for November 1935.

John Greenleaf Whittier
Bust in the Hall of Fame, Sculptured by Rudulph Evans

new college after the poet. Without asking his permission, the incorporators published in the new Quaker Journal *The Herald of Peace*, whose first number appeared at Chicago, January 31, 1868, an announcement of the college:

WHITTIER COLLEGE

An institution of learning with the above romantic name has recently been opened at Salem, Henry Co., Iowa . . .

A description of the purpose, courses, etc., followed.

On June 15 a second announcement of the new college appeared, under the name "Whittier College." Both these announcements, bearing the name Whittier, appeared before the poet's permission was asked to use his name. But the conscience of the community began to hurt, and Isaac T. Gibson was chosen to address Whittier to ask permission to use his name. In the community it was believed that Gibson would have more influence with Whittier than any other Iowan, since Whittier knew that Gibson had operated the successful underground railway connecting the Missouri line with Canada. Accordingly the following letter was sent to Whittier:

Salem, Iowa, 6, 20, 1868.

John G. Whittier,
Amesbury, Mass.

Dear Friend:—The enclosed articles of incorporation and a slip cut from the "Herald of Peace," will introduce to thy notice the name and object of an institution located in this place. Those who caused thy name to be associated therewith, not asking thy permission, perhaps acted out their feelings more fully than etiquette would sanction; but as that is past, and was done to express our high regard for thy character and the principles thou hast so long cherished and disseminated, we hope thou wilt pardon our western freedom. Please do not deny us the privilege of having thy face nicely engraved, from a suitable photograph, on our certificates of stock and scholarships which we propose having executed. Thou wilt greatly oblige the friends of the College with a favorable response.

Thy friend,
ISAAC T. GIBSON [3]

[3] This letter is reprinted from an article by the present writer in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April 1937.

The village waited anxiously for the poet's reply, which came with unexpected haste and reads as follows:

Amesbury, Mass., 6th Mo., 26th, 1868.

My Dear Friend—I hasten to answer thy note of the 20th. I trust I gratefully appreciate the kind estimation of my life and services which has given my name to the new literary institution, of which thou art secretary; and I beg leave, through thee, to thank the Friends of Salem Q. M. for their marked expression of good will and confidence. May a good Providence so order it that the College may prove of permanent usefulness; and that the bearer of its name may be preserved from any word or act which shall make the selection of that name a cause of regret.

Thine, very truly,
John G. Whittier.

P. S.—I enclose a vignette recently taken. The one in "Snow Bound" (not the illustrated edition) is regarded as very good. It was taken ten or eleven years ago, however.[4]

But not only did Whittier readily and gladly consent to the use of his name, he followed the letter with a check for fifty dollars. This contribution was the beginning of a series of gifts to Salem College which continued over a period of twenty-three years. During all this time Whittier, sending not only money but books from his own library, proved to be probably the most generous donor to this College.

As soon as the College began to function in the spring of 1868 the need for books was keenly felt. The pioneer colonists were hungry for literature, but they were far removed from the centers of learning. In their need, they turned, as they were becoming accustomed to do, to Whittier. The one who made himself responsible for the task, Lorenzo Dow Lewelling, was an admirer of Whittier and welcomed an opportunity to write to him.

Lewelling, then twenty-three years old, secretly desired to become a man of letters. He had read and pondered over all of Whittier's writings. He had also fallen under the influence of Bayard Taylor. Like Whittier, Lewelling was a Quaker, but like Taylor his views

[4] This letter was first printed in an appeal for funds for the College in 1868, and again by the present writer in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April 1937. The postscript printed herewith was a part of Whittier's original letter, but the trustees of the College omitted it when printing the letter as part of an appeal for funds.

J. G. WHITTIER.

AMESBURY, MASS., 6th Mo., 26th, 1868.

MY DEAR FRIEND—I hasten to answer thy note of the 20th. I trust I gratefully appreciate the kind estimation of my life and services which has given my name to the new literary institution, of which thou art secretary; and I beg leave, through thee, to thank the Friends of Salem Q. M. for their marked expression of good will and confidence. May a good Providence so order it that the College may prove of permanent usefulness; and that the bearer of its name may be preserved from any word or act which shall make the selection of that name a cause of regret.

Thine, very truly,
JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Whittier's Letter Regarding the Use of his Name for Whittier College, with Vignette, as Printed in an Appeal for Funds

were extremely liberal. At the outbreak of the war, in spite of his Quaker pacifism, he enlisted; but his friends promptly secured his release. He then decided to enter some form of noncombatant work, and thus prove his sympathy with the principles of abolitionism. At the close of the war, he returned to Salem and entered Whittier College. Gratified beyond words that Whittier had shown an interest in the school, Lewelling seized the idea of writing to his master. Early in January 1869 he wrote describing the College and asking whether Whittier would make a donation of books to the struggling Quaker school. Whittier's reply is as follows:

Amesbury
30th 1 mo. 1869

Dear L D

I sent yesterday by Express—*Paid to Salem Iowa*—a small box of books for the library of yr institution.

The great cost of transportation makes it desirable that you should have some place at Philad— or N.Y. where any donation of the kind could be left, & forwarded by some other means.

Thy friend
John G. Whittier[5]

The "small box of books" which Whittier sent is further explained by the minutes of the College Board for February 5, 1869:

> L. D. Lewelling now produced thirty-eight volumes of books presented by J. G. Whittier to the college library, which are gratefully accepted from him.

Unfortunately the list of the titles of this first gift of books has not yet come to light. Later when the College was burned all Whittier's books were destroyed with the exception of one, and that was Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

Deeply stirred by Whittier's gift, Lewelling stored his courage to write another letter asking the poet's criticism of some of his own poems. Finally Lewelling sent a number of his poems with the request that Whittier read them and tell him whether he should continue his quest to become a poet. Whittier's reply showed his continued interest in the College, but contained not one word about the poems:

[5] This letter was first printed in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April 1937.

Amesbury 5 7 Mo 1869

Dear friend,

I am exceedingly sorry that the state of my health confines me mostly at home & makes it impossible for me to write anything of length. I really wish I *could* comply with your request.

I wish to make a little donation of Books to your Colege [*sic*], & wd like to know how they could be sent, & to whose care. I suppose, of course, the Institution has, or is to have a library. I have a few valuable books which I would like to send.

I am very truly
Thy fd
John G. Whittier [6]

In the 1860's literary societies flourished, and Whittier College, in order to live up to its name, had, as the catalogs testify, no less than four societies devoted to the study of poetry and prose. In these societies Lewelling was the leading spirit. In spite of the training from the societies, however, Lewelling concluded that he could not make a living from his pen, and on graduation, secured a position to teach. Soon he felt utterly discouraged in his new calling, and longed to have ease and leisure to write. In despair he wrote his confession to Whittier. The answer is one of the most important of Whittier's extant letters, since it presents his view of the literary and practical life:

Amesbury
25. 2nd mo 1870

Dear fd.

Thine has been recd. It furnishes another proof that we all have our trials, disappointments, & baffled aims. Nor is it any relief to feel that we ourselves directly or otherwise, are responsible for it. There is no man living who does not, in some way or other, need pity & sympathy

As regards poetry, let me here say that to make it the end & aim of life seems to me an unprofitable endeavor. I do not undervalue a liter [*sic*] literary reputation; but it alone can do little towards making any one happy. A literary life has great temptations. I think the work thou art engaged in is higher & nobler than that of a popular writer. It is like that of the Divine Master—doing good. It is a position where a true & good

[6] This letter was first printed in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April 1937.

man can accomplish much, for himself and for those entrusted to his care.

With kind wishes—I am very truly thy fd

John G. Whittier[7]

This letter had a sobering influence on Lewelling. He decided to abandon the idea of a literary career, and to devote himself to journalism. This led to politics, until Lewelling became in time the first Populist governor of Kansas. All through his life however he sought to exemplify the purposes of his great ideal.

In 1871 Lewelling, while editing the *Salem Register*, invited Whittier to fulfill his long cherished ambition to visit the prairie States. This correspondence has not come to light, but Whittier encouraged Lewelling to believe he might be able to make the trip. The *Salem Register* for Saturday, August 12, 1871, carried this item: "It is rumored that J. G. Whittier will attend Commencement at Whittier College on the 31 inst." Whittier did not attend, but the "Extra" which the *Salem Register* published on September 1, 1871, featured an address on the poet. During the two years that Lewelling edited the *Salem Register*, almost every issue abounds in references to Whittier, the exposition of his views, and praise for him, and quotations from his works. For example, an editorial on "Sufferage" dated June 17, 1871, begins: "J. G. Whittier expresses himself perfectly willing that women should have the right of sufferage, but thinks it 'will not prove a remedy for all the ills of which she complains.'"

Whittier's name was useful also in advertising the College. The diary of D. Sands Wright,[8] principal of the College from 1872 to 1876, records the following: "Met Clarkson and Lewelling at the College, and held a consultation, as to the best methods of advertising the College. We decided to issue circulars, containing an engraving of Whittier and the name of the College, and such statements on the other side as we think will pay."

In the 1870's a field representative was appointed to raise funds in the East for the College. Whittier and Bayard Taylor

[7] This letter was first printed in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April 1937.

[8] Oct. 26, 1872. Citations from the diary of D. Sands Wright are used through permission of Dr. Luella M. Wright.

lent their influence by giving introductions and suggestions. Each representative of the College made a pilgrimage to Whittier's home. An entry in the Wright diary from April 1, 1881, notes:

> Fred Wahrer informs me by letter received today that B. T. Trueblood is in the East, soliciting funds for the endowment of Whittier College; that he had had an interview with Whittier who has given the scheme his full endorsement, and given him recommendations to a number of his wealthy friends in the East; and that Whittier has contributed $100 himself. Fred writes that the spring term of the college has just opened with an attendance of 235 students.

In the meantime Whittier's influence penetrated beyond the Quakers. One of his ardent admirers was Jennie Shrader, an Iowa teacher, and poet.[9] Miss Shrader was one of the first to conceive the idea of teaching American Literature. This she found difficult since there were no anthologies, and accordingly prepared an elaborate anthology with one section devoted to Whittier. In order to reproduce the selections of her choice, she wrote Whittier asking permission. One of his replies has been preserved:

> Danvers, Mass.
> 12" 12" mo 1886
>
> Dear Friend
> Of course I have no objection to thy use of the poem referred to in thy letter, but my publisher "Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston" has the copy-right and must be consulted.
>
> Thy fd
> John G. Whittier[10]

Other American writers taught by Miss Shrader and included in her anthology were: Holmes, Irving, Bayard Taylor, Mark Twain, Timothy Dwight, Prescott, Hawthorne, Lowell, Longfellow, Emerson, Channing, Theodore Parker, N. P. Willis, Horace Bushnell, Poe, and Bryant.

On December 4, 1885, tragedy befell Whittier College when the College building burned to the ground. At this time, too, one of the periodic droughts had visited the Middle West. The zeal of

[9] The present writer has discussed Jennie Shrader, and printed selections from her poems, in the *Palimpsest* for Sept. 1937.

[10] This letter was first published in the *Palimpsest* for Sept. 1937.

The First Whittier College Building, Burned in 1885:
Reproduced from an Old Newspaper

the Quakers, however, could not be killed. Resolutely they set to work. Again they appealed to Whittier, who corresponded this time with Levi Gregory who was later to visit Whittier. The new College building was formally dedicated on November 16, 1887. The following letters from the Gregory correspondence have been preserved:

1st. mo. 20, 1888.

Dear Friend;

I am glad to see that Whittier College has risen from the ashes and judging from the photograph in an improved condition.

I have had a great many calls made upon me of late and I am not in a condition just now to give substantial aid to the college but I hope in a few weeks to be able to send something.

I will write again soon. I am just getting over an illness which has confined me for some weeks.

Truly thy friend,
John G. Whittier[11]

As in the past, a check soon followed the promise:

2nd. mo. 27, 1888

Dear Friend

Enclosed find $50 for the benefit of Whittier College

I am not in a condition at this time to do more. I think the friends of the College have done nobly in rebuilding and they have my best wishes.

Thy friend,
John G. Whittier[11]

In October 1891 Levi Gregory set out for the East to raise funds for the College. His notes describing his visit with Whittier have been preserved and make the following story.

Mr. Gregory left Salem, Iowa, on October 16, 1891, to visit Whittier and other eastern Friends in order to raise money for Whittier College. On the way to Amesbury he visited Friends in Chicago, Illinois, in Buffalo and Batavia, New York, and in Boston and Lynn, Massachusetts, and arrived at Amesbury on November 2. He was cordially greeted at the door of Whittier's home, "shown into the parlor, and soon welcomed by John G. Whittier." Principal Gregory noted that Whittier seemed rather

[11] These letters were published in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April 1937.

weak, but his voice was "very clear." He inquired at once about the College.

Gregory went on to tell of the Salem Friends and the other Quakers who helped support the College. He spoke of his letters of introduction. Whittier replied by saying: "Let me see the one that covers the ground." Gregory gave him "the one from the business men and he went away and read it. On his return he said, 'It is a good letter.'" The notes report that at this point Whittier "asked many more questions and then invited me into his library where he read J. W. Palms and Senator Wilson's letters and expressed his satisfaction with them."

Whittier then told Gregory of certain benefactions he was making:

> . . . Said he had given recently to the "Freedmen in Alabama and Tennessee" and one or two other matters. That he did not have as much to give to me as he would like to give. However he would do what he could.
>
> Then he turned and wrote a check for Fifty Dollars. I asked that perhaps he could say something that would help me with others. He said he didn't know that anything that he could say would do any good. Seemed to feel that his influence was small.

Then Whittier added: "The letters thee has are good enough, they show how the matter is." The notes go on:

> While in the parlor he asked, early in the talk, about what kind of a building we had. Was pleased to know that it was a substantial brick, asked about insurance on old building, etc., etc.
>
> Whittier is very unassuming, but conversant and interesting. We talked freely about the advance movement of the Church. He rather feared we were going *too fast*, but trusted that Friends were careful to seek the Lord's will. He especially referred to a tendency on the part of some to think that the Bible would not be much without the Holy Spirit.

The conversation next took an inevitable turn, since both Gregory and Whittier had the same interests at heart. Both had worked for justice for the Negro and for the Indian: "We talked about the Indians and Negros. 'How much we owe them.'" Then they turned to a comparison of farming methods in the East and on the prairies:

> We talked of the crops in the west and east. He [Whittier] said he had raised 50 bushels of corn on half an acre, but it cost all it was worth to do it.

Those who know the stony soil of Amesbury and the fertile soil of Henry County, Iowa, can readily supply the eager questions of Whittier.

Now the conversation came back to Salem, so dear to Whittier's heart:

> He asked how many Friends were in Salem. I told him about 500 in Salem Quarterly Meeting. He was pleased that there were so many. He asked if only Friends attended the college. I answered that all and any could and did attend. That the majority were not Friends. He said he was glad that all could go, that is the right way.

Whittier had been interested from the beginning that the school should not be in any way limited to Friends. His generous catholic spirit showed here as in all his acts.

Gregory noticed by this time that the aged poet showed signs of fatigue, and he prepared to leave. His notes conclude:

> As he showed signs of weariness I prepared to go. He will be 84 years old the 17th of December 1891. He said he was very glad that I had called, that he was glad to see and help the Lord's servants in every good work that they were engaged in, and hoped that I would be successful in my work. So I bade him farewell and went to the depot to go to Lynn.[12]

To the very day of his death, Whittier kept his interest in the prairie land of the West. To the last he continued to send money and books to the College. His fame as a poet continued unabated in the Middle West. His poems were memorized by the school children and studied as American literature in the colleges. Whittier continued to be the patron saint of the "literary societies" which abounded during his lifetime. Gradually he came to be regarded as the hero of the war, the prophet of freedom, and the friend of mankind.

[12] These notes were published in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April 1937.

THE JOURNAL OF JOSHUA EVANS

By Thomas H. Fawcett *

THE RECENT discovery of most of the manuscript journal of Joshua Evans (1731-98) of Newton Township, Gloucester County, New Jersey, may stir up a little interest in a Friend once widely known in this country but now almost forgotten. Two notebooks of the original journal, a manuscript copy of more than half of it including some portions lost in the original, and a collection of contemporary letters were found in 1934 by Dr. Howard S. Fawcett in the barn of his brother, the late William E. Fawcett of Salem, Ohio. These have now been deposited in Friends' Historical Library at Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. Papers of Evans's son-in-law, Abraham Warrington, were found at the same time. It would appear that the journal was taken to Ohio by Abraham Warrington when he moved there in 1805 and that it passed by marriage and descent first to the Bonsall and then to the Fawcett family. This journal was printed in 1837 in vol. x of *Friends' Miscellany* and was also bound and published separately that same year. The introduction to the book states that it was printed from a manuscript transcribed and abridged by George Churchman in 1804, described by him as a "narrative of the substance (not without a little alteration of the style in some parts) of a plain countryman's deep exercises, who had not the advantage of much outward learning."

THE original journal is contained in two notebooks (one about 8″ × 12″ and the other 8″ × 13″) made of sheets folded in the middle and sewed into a cover of heavy brownish-gray paper. The first of these (4 mo. 20, 1794 to 5 mo. 12, 1795; 6 mo. 17, 1795 to 10 mo. 26, 1795; and 11 mo. 18, 1795 to 2 mo. 16, 1796) covers Joshua Evans's first two northern journeys and the interval between. The second notebook (10 mo. 4, 1796 to 5 mo. 4, 1798; and 5 mo. 27, 1798 to 6 mo. 29, 1798) covers his long and short southern journeys and the intervening period. In the back of each of these are itineraries of his journeys giving the distances from place to place and the names of the people with whom he

* The author checked the proofs before his death 3 mo. 31, 1939.

stayed. A third similar notebook, this one in the handwriting of Abraham Warrington, begins with Joshua Evans's account of his early life, followed by journal entries from 3 mo. 17, 1793, to 5 mo. 4, 1793. It is probable that Evans kept a regular diary from this time until his death, but his son-in-law passed hastily over almost a year of it and began again with his setting out on his first northern journey, 4 mo. 20, 1794. The narrative then continues without break to 6 mo. 13, 1796, in the midst of the third northern journey. The printed version covers the same ground as Abraham Warrington's copy but carries on without intermission to the end of Joshua Evans's life.

By comparing the several versions, it was soon discovered that the copy followed the original pretty faithfully, though there were some rearrangements, condensations, and changes of words. The printed book, however, was no more than a paraphrase of either of these, containing about two thirds as much material as the original. Hardly a sentence remained the same. As a general rule Joshua Evans had a separate entry for each day, but here many paragraphs have been omitted and others rewritten so that they sum up two or three days or a week. His travels, quite naturally, have been much more fully treated than his life at home; and not much of historical value has been omitted except names of persons. These together with the itineraries may prove to be of some use to students of forgotten Quaker communities. It is rather from the point of view of present-day literary morality that we would now criticize the editorial work of George Churchman. (I am here assuming that the printer followed *his* manuscript pretty faithfully, which, of course, may not have been the case.) Because the original is somewhat monotonous in places and contains grammatical errors as well as endless repetitions of phrases such as *close labor* or *a solid meeting*, a little judicious pruning might have been excused; but surely it was not necessary to rewrite the whole. The improvements are not always obvious.

Because of the faithfulness of Abraham Warrington's copy and the freedom of Churchman's abridgment, it was not easy to discover whether the latter worked from the original manuscript or from the copy. However, an entry was found in which the printed book kept a phrase used by Warrington which did not

occur in the original. This paragraph in its three versions is quoted below.

In Joshua Evans's original:

4 ye: 1 month 1795 this is first day was at meeting apoor low Season I am well in helth but have to drink of the bittors that is unknone to all men this I am through most holy help enabled to live above all for I See we must beair advercity as well as prosperrity So that we be preserved in hope & our heads kept above wator & not Sink two low this I esteme as a high favour in my pilgrimage for I have babtisms the world knows not of but if I Can weaid through all So as to make the port at last all will be well & Can be wheare the trublor Seaseth trubling & the wary rest

In Abraham Warrington's copy:

4. At our first day meeting which was poor & Low Well in health but have many bitters unknown to Mortals, but thro holy help, have been inabled to live above dispair, seeing we must bear Adversity as well as prosperity, so that we be preserved in hope this I have esteemed as a high favour in my pilgrimage and often Baptisms many of which are hid from the world, but if I can hit the port at last where the weary are at rest it will sweeten every probation

In the printed Journal, page 65:

Seeing it is our lot to suffer adversity, I hope, through holy help, to be enabled to live above despair. If I can, through watchful care and Divine grace, arrive at last to that port where the weary are at rest, it will sweeten every probation.

WARRINGTON'S copy and the second book of the original are both much more worn than the first book. This suggested the idea that the copy was never completed but that what there was of it together with part of the original had been circulated from hand to hand during the years before the journal appeared in print. It would seem probable that Churchman had used some such combination, for a place was found in the second part of the original where an entirely different hand had interlined "with my friend G. C." In the printed book (page 191) this appears as "In company with my friend George Churchman." Between the end of the copy and the beginning of the second book of the original is an interval of almost four months, and there is a break of about three weeks near the end of the latter. George Churchman had manuscript for both these periods which has since disappeared.

After finding that so many changes had been lightly made, one may be inclined to ask whether anything was altered in 1837 for theological reasons. There seems to be no evidence of this. It is true the name of Christ rarely appears in the book, but it is not much more frequent in the manuscript. The last judgment was the foundation of Joshua Evans's theolgy. He preached repentance and avoidance of wrongdoing rather than salvation by faith. His commendation of Elias Hicks is genuine and is even stronger in the original than as printed. It was written almost thirty years before the separation, when Hicks was about fifty years old:

the fourteenth of this month [1 mo., 1798] we had the Companey of our beloved friend Elias Hicks from long island whos Companey & Gospel labours was trewly exceptable & edyfoying & I believe has maid imprehens on Some of our frinds that will be of leasting advantage

Something further might be said of the nature of the journal itself. The handwriting is labored but quite legible. Many examples of peculiar spelling can be found in the extracts quoted in this article. Others that might be mentioned are *knight* for night, *learge* for large, *rongue* for wrong, *peart* for part, *bote with fore ores*, and the like. Do spellings such as *coind* for kind, *yearly* for early, and *dearth* for death indicate mispronunciation? There is no punctuation, and capitalization is unrelated to sentence structure.

AMONG the gleanings from the journal is a bit of evidence as to whether Friends ever served alcoholic beverages at quarterly meetings:

8 y^e^ 10 month 1796 this day began the yearly Select meeting here [at Baltimore] I had to mens[ion] the prevailing fashen of yousing woine at yearly & Qortorly meetings So freely a fashen heard for Som that had tendor Scroples to refrain when handed about in gleases on Searvors as also the fashon of Smoking toba[cco] much of which might be speaired amungst Country friends when attending yearly & quorly meetings this was wel recived by Some

There is an interesting reference to an old edition of the Bible:

1 y^e^ 2 month 1798 for three days I have thought much respecting that tex in Matthew 17 Captor & 25 verce in an old translation of the Scriptures before they ware in Chaptor & verce Stands thus & when thei wer Come to the Ctee of Copernaum thei that use to receive tribute money

Came to peter & Said Dooeth your master paie trybute he Saieth yea & when he was Come into the house Jesus prevented him Saiyng what thynkest thou Simon of whom dooe the kynges of the earth take tribute or tolle of their Children or of Straungers peter Saieth unto him of Straungers Jesus Saieth unto him then are the Children free not withstandyng least wee Should offend them goo thou to the Sea & Cast an angle & take the fishe that firste Commeth up & when thou hast opened his mouth thou Shall finde a pece of twenty pence that take & geve it unto theim for me & thee the words & Speling is as it Stands heare I have tacon this out of an old bible printed before they was put in Chaptors & verse I have it now in my hand & do admire the Simplicty & plainnes

Through the courtesy of Dr. Josiah H. Penniman, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, I have been informed that this spelling corresponds very closely with that of the Great Bible (Cranmer's) of 1566, which is not divided into verses.

The greater part of Joshua Evans's journal is taken up with his travels in the ministry. These extended north to Dartmouth in Nova Scotia, south to Wrightstown in Georgia, and west to Sewickley in western Pennsylvania. He pretty well covered the field of American Quakerism as it existed before the settlement of Ohio. At the end of his life he could write:

. . . being humblingly thankful to the God & father of all our mercies who has in So a mervilous a way provoided for me through all my visit to all the friends meetings on this Continant that I have heard of but fore which is in North Carolina matemeskek & in Verginea Smths Creek & in mareland the Clifts & in Penselvaney the half moon valley these fore are all that I have not been at that I have heard of

AS A preacher Joshua Evans spoke to a great many people both within and without the Society of Friends. He frequently writes of "more than the house would hold" or "the largest meeting ever held in this place." Some, of course, came out of curiosity because he wore white clothing and a beard. He himself felt that these peculiarities worked to his advantage:

23 ye 4 month 1798 had two meetings the first at Chestor that in the aftornoon at provedance these learg in so much that I thought I now Saw with greait Clearnes how the Lord had been prepeairing me for his work & Searvis in pointing out So narrow a peath for me to walk in & also that of weairing of my beard for from the leargnes of meetings where I have travled it being all most over the Contenanc that I had

Seen thousands of people that if it had not been for my difrant appearance I Should not have ever Seen which has been a Comfort to maney & to me also for it was the people that I wanted to See & that for their good every way

Occasionally he gave what we would consider a very long sermon. At Lamberton, he says (A. Warrington's copy, 5 mo. 16, 1796): "Stood near two hours which was a surprise to me when I considered it being uncommon for me to Stand more than half that time." Sometimes, but not often, he was silent in an appointed meeting. While on the long southern journey he wrote:

. . . fiew Silant meetings Since I left home though Some & them has [been] of the leargest where has bean greait expectations where as I was told aftor wards that Some people had abelief the Quakers never appointed meetings when travling but what they did Say Somthing though when at home might be Silant

In three or four places in the journal Evans has rather let himself go. Perhaps these may be taken as samples of his preaching. In any case this concluding extract must throw some light on the nature of his message:

16 y^e^: 1 month 1795 this day I had to view the goodnes & mearsy of the Lord our God to a perverce people in not Shortning the work & Speaking the word & Saying we Should be no mere & it must be So for what are we poor finite beings that we Shold greve thy holy Spirit & Contend one with the other about our tempra affeairs & extort one from each other & in an espeacial mannor when thou art Sheaking thy rode in tendor mearces over the inhabetanc of the land & with holding the increas of the earth which is thine to give or with hold

Crops of grain are now much les by reason of a blast or mildue thou Sendest the wormes & the flies these things I believe are becouse of the enequities of the people for the people are become rich by the abundance of their treaid their Sons & their Daughtors frnical & proud they are tought to live by extortion & unjust gain they that are rich appres the poor by extortion the fearmor raiseth the prise of the produce of the ground becouse of the smalnes of its increas the Labouror Complaineth of the of the [*sic*] extortion of the farmor the Laboror reaiseth his wagors in ordor to git breaid for his Children the imployor is angry with the labouror So hear Cometh in discord & invoy & hatred the mearchent is fishing in the mudy wator for the greator unsettlement the wideor the dore is open for him to in Creas his welth & make Slaves of the people

when breaid Corn is now double & every thing in greait Confusion humillity banished out of this land in two inaral a way the youth not

brought up in a Corse of indutry but they must be Doctors loyers or treaydors the Studdy of these are to bliend the eyes of the people & then it may be Justly Sayd the blind lead the blind tyll they both fall in the ditch

Moderation appeareth in but very fiew as for Such as are menshoned in the Sacred righting wheare are they Showe me the man that feareth God the man that loveth truth & heateth Covitousness when now wheat flower Seleth for forty Shilings pr. hundred rye flower thirty, wheat four teen Shilings pr. bushel rye ten indean Corn five, the poor Crie for want of bread & the hearts of the people remain heard Is not this upholding Satons kingdom if not I know not what is is it not groinding the face of the poor & oppresing the neady the widow & fatherles Children will the Lord not Judg these guilty & in his displeasure turn them in to outor dearknes wheare the wicked dwell to be tormented & that forever & ever turn ye turn ye why will ye die oinhabetance of this once favoured leand o ameraca ameraca repent repent & wash thy Cloths in inncensy least he blot out thy name from undor heaven my Soul morneth with in me when I think of the Shortnes of time in this world before we must die & leve it all & Step out of time in to longue & endlis eternity theire to dwell forever what we now are So egorly pursuing it is vannety of vaneties all is vanety the golden rule is to do as we would be done unto the Scearsety of any thing the poor Stands in need of is not a Sufficant rule to extort from them that they have gained by heard labour this is now our misrable Situation oLord Sound the trumpit Loudor & Loudor that So the inhabetance may be alarmed & their Souls be Saved

BOOK REVIEWS

The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam, 1655-1665. By William I. Hull. Swarthmore College Monographs on Quaker History, Number Four, 1938. xi+346 pp.; 15 illustrations; $4.00. Copies can be ordered from Chester Roberts, Swarthmore, Pa.

WITH even pace in spite of interruptions William I. Hull continues to make available one after another his monographs on Quaker history in Holland. This is number four, but it really deals with the first decade in Amsterdam. Has Quaker history for any locality been written on such a generous scale? The author expects to treat the subsequent periods more succinctly, since "the origin and infancy of institutions demand a relatively longer treatment at the hands of historians than do their subsequent growth and development." Later volumes will deal with Quakerism in Rotterdam, with persecution of Friends in Holland and western Germany, and with the native Dutch leaders.

In this volume William Ames and William Caton, the chief English founders of Dutch Quakerism, are the principal figures. A primary source is therefore the letters they wrote to George Fox and Margaret Fell,—the

famous collection of Swarthmore documents. We see how truly Fox referred to that material as something "to make a history of passages of the spreading of Truth which will be a brave thing." The present reviewer always finds important manuscript material turning up just after he has published on a topic. Professor Hull is more fortunate in that the long lost volume (III) of Caton manuscripts was recovered in 1935 just in time for him to include its thirty letters from William Caton, making from all sources eighty letters from this one "First Publisher of Truth." A brief autobiography of Caton published by Fox has long been available. We have here however the first real attempt at a biography of William Ames (pp. 18-89), though part of his career had been dealt with in Monograph Number Two.

Letters are not tractable material to use. If published in full they contain irrelevant matter. If, as is natural, one wishes to use their material in their own language in connection with relevant parts of an orderly narration, quotation of selections is necessary, and, as in the present volume, involves considerable repetition.

Another source of material, at least for the conflict of Quakerism with authorities, is in the records of church and state. William Hull's diligence in this difficult field of inquiry has been not a little rewarded. Other pieces, as the hearing of Christopher Birkhead at Middelburg, will doubtless appear in the volume on persecution.

A third source of history is the published Quaker and anti-Quaker literature. This literature is largely hortatory and controversial rather than narrative, but it makes up in quantity what it lacks in historical concreteness. More than nine score pieces in Dutch are dealt with from this single decade.

The story told is not one of striking success. Not only were the laborers few; the harvest was not plentiful. The first missionaries were interrupted by imprisonment when on furlough in England and by calls further into Europe when actually on the Continent. The Mennonites, Collegiants, and Jews, among whom they specially hoped to win converts, were not very responsive. Caton worked in English at first and Ames in German. The use of interpreters and the pamphlets which they distributed in Dutch did not serve to replace the living vernacular in efficiency. Some of the English Quakers in Holland brought the sect into scandal, while reports of Nayler's fall and of Quaker complicity in the Fifth Monarchy plot were more exaggerated and harder to live down in Holland than in England itself. Several of the most hopeful leaders of Dutch Quakerism including both Ames and Caton died untimely before the end of 1665. We shall have to wait for the sixth monograph to get a more encouraging picture of Quaker strength in Holland.

The present narrative is full of interest. Many readers will particularly prize that long and candid account (pp. 310-316) by William Caton, though it has been published before, of his courtship and marriage with Annetie

Deriks after her sister, his fiancée, had died. Anneken, one of three sisters (p. 307; or were there four, as Miss Brailsford says?), had been previously married (to whom?), and this marriage of the chief active missionary to the chief local executive woman in the Society—"a discreet, motherly, widdow woman," as he calls her—exactly corresponds to the marriage in England of George Fox and Margaret Fell seven years later. Caton's ten-page letter to the two English leaders about the course he had pursued can hardly have been without influence as precedent for their own very circumspect proceedings towards marriage. It is strange that so little is known of Anneken's later life. William Hull writes (p. 321): "She appears to have made another visit to England about a score of years after his [i. e., her husband's] death." But this is hard to reconcile with Fox's statement (p. 175) that she died "soon after that."

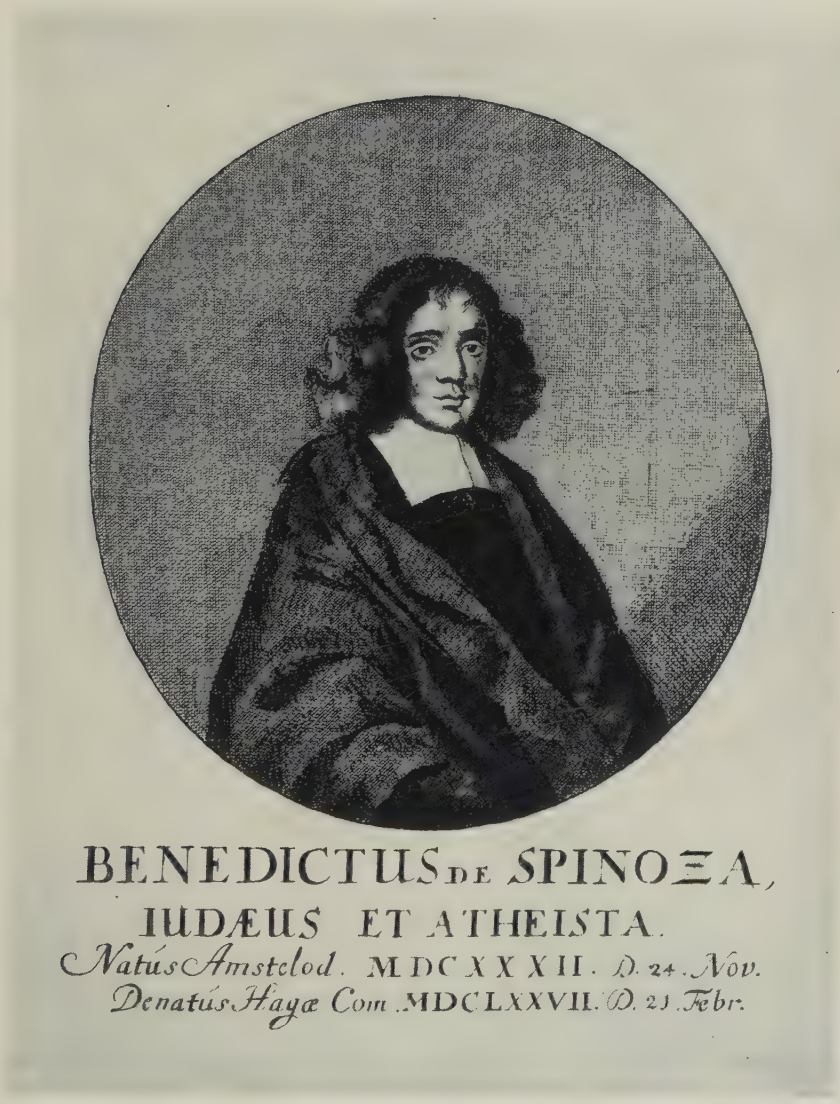
Positively exciting is William Hull's suggestion that the famous philosopher Spinoza is mentioned in the following part of a letter of William Ames to Margaret Fell, dated 17th of 2d month, 1657 (p. 205; the reference should be given as Swarth. MSS iv. 28, and the place of writing Utrecht):

> There is a Jew at Amsterdam that by the Jews is cast out (as he himself and others saith) because he owne no other teacher but the light and he sent for me and I spoke to him and he was pretty tender and doth own all that is spoken; and he said to read of Moses and the prophets without was nothing to him except he came to know it within; and so the name of Christ it is like he doth own: I gave order that one of the Dutch copies of thy book should be given to him and he sent me word he would come to our meeting, but in the meantime I was imprisoned.

Except for the over-Quakerly way of putting it this description is not inappropriate for the author of the subsequent *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. The more I consider available bits of circumstantial evidence the more plausible the suggestion seems. The date is right, as Spinoza was excommunicated in July, 1656. I must confess that I have read part of this passage in manuscript several times, and printed it (*Children of Light,* p. 160), without ever thinking of Spinoza. In any case I think a letter of William Caton's from Holland a few weeks later is a generalization of this individual instance of persecution of a Jew by "brethren who are of the same stock and root of their forefathers" (*ibid.,* p. 163).

The chief asset of this volume is the completeness and newness of its material. Bibliographically for example it far outstrips any other reference work on Dutch Quaker and anti-Quaker publications from 1655 to 1665. Neither the Quaker and anti-Quaker catalogs of Joseph Smith nor the Dutch pamphlet bibliographers (Knuttel, Petit, Tiele, van der Wulp) taken all together can match the fulness of this material.

No doubt other references to Friends in Holland in this decade could be found; perhaps some of them are reserved for use in later volumes. Surely there can have been no more remarkable arrivals of Quakers in



Benedict Spinoza

Holland than of those prisoners destined for banishment who were captured by the Dutch and finally landed in two shiploads in Holland in 1666. Obscure though the reference is to Jane Wilkinson in Holland in 1654 or 1655 (pp. 17, 200f.), it is perhaps not the earliest reference to a Quaker there. An English reference in 1647 (!) to women from beyond seas called Quakers has still not been explained. As for the first idea of spreading Quakerism in Holland (p. 17), Dr. Hull could have referred to a specific statement in Fox's printed Epistle 337 addressed thither in 1676, in which he says, "The Lord hath a great people to come out of those parts, which I saw in 1651."

Since in his account of subsidiary preachers of Quakerism in Holland William Hull mentions the travels of John Stubbs to the near east and of George Rofe to America, he might well have included at least references to the fuller unpublished manuscript accounts of these journeys in London and Philadelphia respectively. On p. 201 it is a slip to say that Elizabeth Hooton was the first to preach Quakerism in America, and on the same page Swarthmore Account Book is not the proper name for the Fund for the spread of Truth there quoted. On p. 194 the last date should be, I suppose, 1666, and not 1660. I note also perveted (58), Kroese (256), Toldery (258). One omission in the bibliography I mention because of its American interest: *A Call from Death to Life,* by Marmaduke Stephenson, the Boston martyr, was printed with other papers in Amsterdam in Dutch, not only in the edition of 1663 (219, note 471) but also in 1662 (Thysiana 3280).

This volume is uniform in paper, type, and binding with the other volumes in the series and like them is provided with numerous illustrations. In reproducing manuscripts (opposite pp. 116 and 180) my own preference would be to use positive photostats rather than negative, and in transcribing them either to retain the abbreviation p for per-, por-, pro-, etc., or to resolve it in full. On page 99, "burned several good wholesome Prayers" must be a misreading of "Papers" in the original.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

Chronique de la vie Quaker française de 1750-1938. By Henry van Etten. Paris, Société religieuse des Amis, 12, rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, 1938. 316 pp., 43 illustrations. 22 francs; obtainable at Friends Book Store, 302 Arch St., Philadelphia, 80 cents postpaid.

THERE is only one person who could have written this book and that is Henry van Etten. Happily, he has done it. He has reviewed all of the available material, written and oral, relating to the life and religion of the Cévennes group in the South centered at Congénies,—Camisards, Inspirés, Gonfleurs, Trembleurs, and finally Quakers,—down to the last survivor of the Brun family still living at an advanced age in Nîmes. In the nineteenth century the two hundred members of this group

consisted largely of the Benezets, Bruns, Rabinels, Majoliers, and their ramifications.

The romantic story of the discovery by London Friends of this similar group and the setting up of a regular Friends' meeting at Congénies in 1788 is now readily accessible for all who can read French. The strange rôle of Jean de Marsillac in this story, both in France and America, is told at length but cannot be fully explained. Henry van Etten has told some of this story, in briefer form, in an article "Quakerism in France" published in the BULLETIN 26 (1937) :35-38.

Through marriage and emigration to avoid military service, the Congénies group passed out of existence early in this century, leaving their meeting house and beautiful little graveyard behind them. It was that great missionary soul, Christine Majolier Alsop (1805-1879) and Justine Dalencourt (1838-1928) who kept the spark of Quakerism alive in France for many years. The latter, beside her noble work for women and girls, maintained a meeting in her Paris home for over thirty years. She thus formed a rallying point for the host of young English and American Friends who passed through Paris in connection with war relief work.

Since 1916 Henry van Etten has seen and known for himself everything that has transpired. He has served the new meeting at 12, rue Guy-de-la-Brosse in every capacity, and it is difficult to see how this second bloom of French Quakerism could have come without him.

There are many interesting episodes in the story which he has told now for the first time in its complete form, usefully documented and illustrated: the work of Joseph G. Alexander, extracts from the unpublished diary of William Savery in France, the Nantucket colony at Dunkerque, the effects of the Revolution on the pastoral life of Friends in the Midi, the old 1657 Bible of the Bruns still preserved in Paris, and the author's own debt to Justine Dalencourt. But the most encouraging note is the parallel existence from early times in France of a society which was living on Quaker lines without knowing it until discovered just a hundred and fifty years ago. The literature and the financial support of Quaker world concerns have come from England and America; but the life of the spirit has been preserved in France through good times and bad, until now there exists an independent French Quakerism which gives promise of strength and permanence.

W. W. COMFORT.

I, Yahweh. A Novel in the form of an Autobiography. By Robert Munson Grey. Chicago, Willett, Clark & Co., 1937. 352 pp. $2.50.

FRIENDS will find much to ponder on in this book, which is told in the first person by no less than Jehovah, Yahweh, God of the Hebrews. The idea is more startling than the book. What the author has done is to trace man's conception of divinity from the mid-dawn of the race, in

ancient Chaldea. "I know not whose prayer gave rise to my being" is the satisfying first sentence.

Yahweh's growth in the minds and spirits of men is seen to depend on the leaders. "As a man is, so is his God," he admits. He is tempted with Abraham and is strengthened by Moses. From Moses he finds out about "a Voice." Hosea acquaints him with some great spiritual truths and he learns somewhat less from the lawyers.

Then comes the Galilean and "a sense of unity with some source of power which I knew not." These pages are done with a freshness and delicacy which are very touching. Yahweh, who has been exalted and bloodthirsty by turns, is troubled by the vision of universal love, which he cannot understand. Indeed he tries to save Jesus from his unworldly views, for Yahweh is nothing if not conservative and tender of expediency. Jesus replies, "Get thee behind me, Satan!"

Yahweh becomes a Christian. But the sword and theology and the sophistries of priests lead, through Constantine and St. Francis and Luther, through the War and the jazz age, to the Nazis and the terrible present; and Yahweh, not yet weaned from the sword, is reconciled to the prospect of "a day of war and destruction such as hath not been seen." "And if perchance there be One mightier than I to thrust me down to the pit, I shall have had my day."

Robert Munson Grey's book is an indictment of the world's blindness. Again and again Yahweh harks back to the Galilean, again and again chooses not love but the sword. The author's research must have been enormous. His irony and satire cut to the bone. His style varies with the age involved, from Biblical simplicity to the slangy emptiness of Billy Sunday. In the main it has a praiseworthy economy with much beauty, tenderness, and a sly touch of humor, as when the theologians are deciding how the Trinity is to be seated. Friends will sympathize with its object, which is a passionate plea to listen to "the patient witness within." This reviewer intends to read it again.

T. Morris Longstreth.

War and the Christian. By Charles E. Raven. New York, Macmillan, 1938. xi + 186 pp.; $1.75.

THIS BOOK by Canon Raven gives not merely his answer to the question, "Can Christians take part in war?" It also throws out a unique challenge to the thinking of peace lovers. Not only is the Christian pacifist position cogently set forth, but the book outlines with clarity and understanding the chief difficulties that face this position and the resultant nonpacifist stand made by many sincere Christians. As Canon Raven remarks, the position of the nonpacifist Christian has usually been outlined so badly or so apologetically that there is real danger of overlooking its importance and condemning it by default. Only one with this writer's intellectual breadth and wide experience of varying Christian attitudes

could deal as sympathetically with the different answers to such questions as: Can we end war? Cannot war be the less of two evils? How reconcile pacifism with our responsibility to the state? Is there a middle way? When this wide understanding is combined with Canon Raven's well-known devotion to the cause of pacifism the book gains exceptional interest.

The divergence of Christian thought on this question was made clear by the World Conference of Christian leaders at Oxford in 1937, when four different positions were defined, but not reconciled. The Conference report itself urged further study. This is the occasion of Canon Raven's book, and its clearness, fairness, and lack of propagandistic bias are in accordance with the need. It does not seek to say the last word. Yet it insists that the overcoming of evil with good is at the very heart of Christianity, and that pacifism can face the practical difficulties of a war-mad world.

Above all it enforces the urgency of the need for consultation by pacifists and nonpacifists. "In the matter of war we shall be wise to recognize that our differences go very deep, and to discuss them before it is too late, at their point of origin."

Pendle Hill ARTHUR DAYFOOT.

The Contemporary Christ. By Richard Roberts. New York, Macmillan, 1938. ix + 148 pp.; $1.50.

THIS is the second volume of the series called "Great Issues of Life," issued under the general editorship of Rufus M. Jones, who also writes the introduction. It is a searching and suggestive book.

In Part I, "Signs of our Time," the author shows that the contemporary world is waiting for a new Word of God, as is evidenced by the return to prayer, the interest in revelation, the changes in scientific thought, the testimony of psychology. Jung's statement is quoted, that we moderns feel the need of breaking "the spell that binds us to the cycle of biological events." The present critical state of democracy is discussed; the crux of the discussion is that real liberty is possibly only where there is common obedience, equality where there is common humility, fraternity where there is common mutual reverence.

Part II, "God in Christ," consists of a series of chapters on the life of Jesus, bringing out in a living and refreshing way its fundamental meanings, as relevant to our world as to his. We need to take the Incarnation seriously, seeing that "What God was as man here in this world, that every man is in his measure called to be." Jesus has been criticized as an inadequate guide because he gave us no light on philosophy, politics, economics, art, science; but he *was* preoccupied with the condition which makes all these possible, that is, community. "In a world of disrupted human relationships, the first act of community is forgiveness." Jesus's

"Father, forgive them" expresses profoundly the nature and purposes of God; on this grace of God human community depends.

Part III, "Communion and Community in Christ," discusses the implications for the Christian church in our present society. "There is no difficulty about an irruption of the divine into the world, if only we did not stand in its way." "When we have come to think of God as *our* helper, we have ourselves become a hindrance."

Pendle Hill. ERMINIE HUNTRESS.

The Small Sects in America. By Elmer T. Clark, Nashville, Cokesbury Press, 1937. 311 pp.; $2.00.

THE membership of religious bodies is at best hard to estimate. Small struggling sects with few if any records are peculiarly unresponsive to statistical method. Descriptive material is more readily obtained; it is also more reliable. This manual including more than one hundred and fifty bodies now extant cites as its sources the government's census of religious bodies, 1926; publications of the sects themselves; and information derived from question lists and personal visits.

Quakers, Mormons, and Lutherans are referred to but not included, as are such racial or national Catholic bodies as the Albanian, Greek, and Russian. Non-Christian sects are omitted.

The principles of religious liberty maintained by Quakers and Baptists principally in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Rhode Island give rise to this multiplicity. It encouraged the original influx, permitted division, and set no obstacle in the way of sprouting, developing, and dwindling.

The small sects represent the lower strata of privilege. When members acquire economic importance, allegiance wanes, belief is modified, emotional expression is toned down.

Seven types are differentiated: those who despair of the world (Adventists), perfectionist sects (early Methodists), those who seek spiritual "gifts" (Holy Rollers), communal types (Amana Society), those who stress rules (early Mennonites) or personal comfort (Divine Scientists), and the esoteric varieties (Theosophists).

Quakers are considered historically among the early emigrants and psychologically in comparison with others who have experienced notable emotional reactions.

It is the feeling element, minimized by the large well-established churches, that finds its expression in the outcropping of small sects. They also give some kind of answer to the question "What can I do?", the desire for definiteness in this particular sometimes carrying them to extraordinary extremes.

The book suggests varieties of religious experience scarcely realized and seldom explored by members of the larger churches.

Pendle Hill. ANNA COX BRINTON.

Die erste deutsche Auswanderung nach Pennsylvanien im Jahre 1683 und die Gründung von Germantown. By Friedrich Nieper. Published by the Diakonen Anstalt, Duisburg (Germany), 1937. 49 pp.

THIS THESIS was accepted by the theological department of the University of Bonn and represents one chapter of a larger study to be published later dealing with "Anabaptism and mystical separatism in Krefeld and Pennsylvania during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." Nieper supplements the traditional picture of the Germantown immigrants as it has been handed down to us by Pastorius, Seidensticker, Kapp and W. I. Hull by valuable research material from German, English and American sources. In doing so he modifies the views which we have traditionally held regarding Pastorius' rôle and reduces his function to that of a strong and versatile leader, who however should not be placed in the position of having initiated the immigration of the Krefelders. Jakob Telner's function as the connecting link between the original Frankfurt company and the Krefeld Quakers and Mennonites is emphasized and some light is thrown upon the much debated question of whether the Krefelders were Dutch or German.

The thesis is a valuable contribution to the theme. In preparing the thesis for final publication the author should correct a mistake on page 7 where he says: "At Penn's second journey through Germany in 1677 he was accompanied by *his followers*, George Fox, Robert Barclay, George Keith, Furley, and others." The meticulous care with which the material is composed makes the reader look forward to the complete study of Anabaptism on the Lower Rhine and its relations to Pennsylvania, a study which has not been brought down to date since the eighties of last century, when K. Rembert published his *Anabaptists on the Lower Rhine and in Jülich.*

George School, Pa. WM. HUBBEN.

Lucretia Mott. By Lloyd C. M. Hare. New York, The American Historical Society, Inc., 1937. 307 pp.; seven illustrations; $3.00.

THE secondary title of this book, "The Greatest American Woman," suggests that it may belong rather in the field of journalism than in that of historical writing; the fact that the society which publishes it is not listed in the *Handbook of Historical Societies of the United States and Canada* (1936) confirms the suggestion; and the style of the book itself brings no conviction that its statements or conclusions can be depended on. Though the author quotes occasionally from what may have been contemporary letters or diaries, there is no specific reference to sources, and the book has neither bibliography nor index. Moreover, the language contains such indiscretions as the following: ". . . objection had been aroused of an expression . . ." (p. 68); "Lucretia Mott, . . .

Portrait Bust of Lucretia Mott, by Adelaide Johnson,
in the Capitol at Washington

Reprinted through the courtesy of the publishers of *Lucretia Mott*,
by Lloyd C. M. Hare

whom he found was rather a different person . . ." (p. 104); "Noah . . . laid down in his tent . . ." (p. 113); "The frail woman . . . charmed O'Connell as many another man had been" (p. 136); "The Free Religious Association came nearest to Lucretia's ideal of a religious organization than any she had ever known" (p. 288); "William Fox" for George (p. 80); "John Joseph Gurney, . . . the Quaker pope" for Joseph John (p. 140).

In spite of these apparent strictures, the reviewer does not discourage the reading of *Lucretia Mott*—quite the contrary. The subject has been neglected by biographers, and this book, though not the definitive biography, fills a need, and its story is pleasantly and attractively told. Lucretia Mott had a colorful and interesting career, from her birth in Nantucket through her school-teaching days, to her marriage and long sojourn in Philadelphia. She was prominently identified with exciting events—the burning of Pennsylvania Hall in 1838 and the entire movement for the abolition of slavery, and the controversies over advanced divorce laws, equal rights for women, liberalism in religion, and even the right of labor to organize; and withal she was a Quaker minister of unusual power, mother of a family and housekeeper of an exacting household, a charming hostess, a traveled person of broad human contacts and much experience of life. These phases of her life are told with an enthusiasm and skill which entirely justify the book; and one who can overlook the lack of literary craftsmanship will find it abundantly worth reading.

T. K. B.

Penn. By Elizabeth Janet Gray. New York, Viking Press, 1938. 298 pp.; illustrated with 16 drawings by George Gillett Whitney; $2.50.

William Penn's Early Life in Brief 1644-1674. By Albert Cook Myers. Published by the author at Moylan, Pa., 1937; 83 pp., 55 illustrations; $5.00.

William Penn. A Topical Biography. By William I. Hull. New York, Oxford University Press, 1937. xvi + 362 pp.; 46 illustrations; $5.00.

Eight Biographies of William Penn in Seven Languages and Seven Lands. By William I. Hull. Swarthmore, Pa., 1936; Number three of Swarthmore College Monographs on Quaker History. xviii + 136 pp.; 42 illustrations; $2.00.

THE FACT that four distinguished biographical works such as those listed above have appeared within a short time after the publication of books by Brailsford in 1930, Dobrée in 1932, and Vulliamy in 1934, indicates anew that William Penn's soul, like that of John Brown, goes marching on. The explanation must lie partly in the difficulties presented to an attempt to interpret Penn's many-sided character, and partly in the historical significance of the events in which he took part. Since these

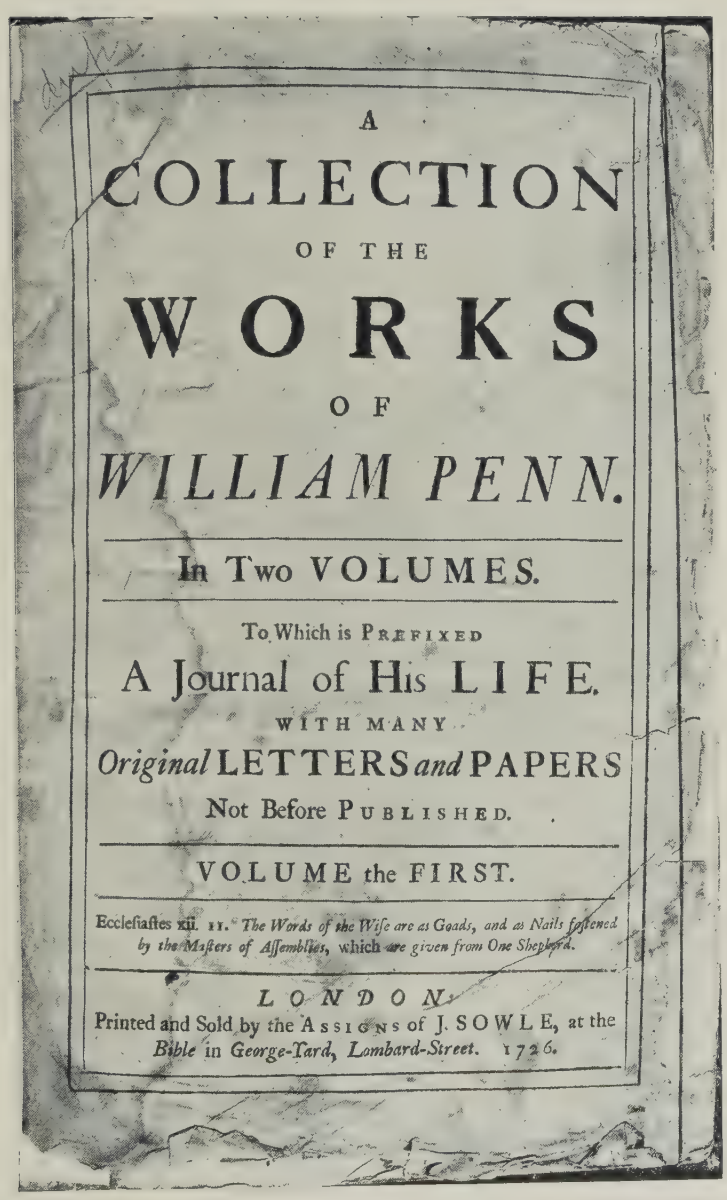
four books are all by Friends, perhaps a certain feeling of piety toward the Quaker hero may also have prompted the authors; if so, that piety has found a worthy subject.

Of these four, the first, by Elizabeth Janet Gray (or, in private life, Elizabeth Gray Vining), is frankly a book for the young. It is nicely printed and the story is charmingly told. It is indeed in its charm and general excellence a companion volume to Janet Whitney's *Elizabeth Fry*. It shows William Penn the dutiful son, misunderstood but still tenderly loved by his ambitious father; Penn the courageous dissenter, defending his own and all Englishmen's rights in the famous and dramatic trial of himself and William Mead; Penn the loving husband and father; Penn the idealistic yet practical organizer of a new colony where men should have freedom of conscience; and, far more briefly discussed, Penn the politician and court favorite in England, again misunderstood, cheated and imprisoned for debt, but finally winning through to a quiet old age.

Though the book is not written for historians, it gives the impression (except in the matter of proportionate emphasis on different parts of his life) of being thoroughly dependable. Sources are skilfully quoted; the admiration undoubtedly felt by the author is discreetly phrased; there is a useful bibliography of books by and about Penn and about his times; and there is a full index. A most excellent book, which Friends may rejoice to have in the world, available for their own children and all others.

The second of these books, by Albert Cook Myers, contrasts strongly in method and purpose with the first. It is perhaps primarily a historian's book, containing the distillate of the author's unsurpassed knowledge of the facts of Penn's early life, and his considered views, based upon historic evidence, with regard to the points about which controversy has raged. It is a small book—seventy-two pages of text, with an unusual wealth of pertinent and beautiful illustrations, printed in uniform style with the author's account of the Lenni Lenape published earlier the same year. The preface calls it appropriately "the result of a critical study of all possible sources, . . . with a minimum of interpretation, and an ever striving for the avoidance of propaganda . . . " Those who, having read a half-dozen other biographies, would like to know where the truth lies in the multitude of conflicting views, will probably have to come here to find it. Dr. Myers calls this study a brief statement of his conclusions with regard to the first three decades of Penn's life, often without citations or complete proof, which we may expect to have augmented in the great work on William Penn to which he has given much of his life.

In the third book, William I. Hill has chosen a biographical method interestingly different from that of his predecessors. He has perhaps assumed that the standard *corpus* of facts of a Penn biography is pretty definitely known, and does not need retelling in all detail; but that a discussion of some thirty topics which have proved interesting to biog-


A

COLLECTION

OF THE

WORKS

OF

WILLIAM PENN.

In Two VOLUMES.

To Which is PREFIXED

A Journal of His LIFE.

WITH MANY

Original LETTERS *and* PAPERS

Not Before PUBLISHED.

VOLUME the FIRST.

Eccleſiaſtes xii. 11. *The Words of the Wiſe are as Goads, and as Nails faſtened by the Maſters of Aſſemblies,* which *are given from One Shepherd.*

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by the ASSIGNS of J. SOWLE, at the *Bible* in *George-Yard, Lombard-Street.* 1726.

Title Page of the First Collected Edition of the Works of William Penn, Edited by Joseph Besse

raphers would allow a consecutive discussion of each, and an adequate treatment of some topics which have either been too briefly treated by his predecessors or which have been the subject of prolonged but indecisive controversy. Thus under "Penn's Mother" he accepts Albert Cook Myers's conclusion that Pepys was right when he called her a "Dutch woman" (in this matter, Dr. Myers *does* refer to sources and proofs, in the book reviewed just above, p. 23). But in other places one misses the summing up of the evidence and the pronouncement of the author's considered view. Dobrée does not think much of Penn as an organizer of the colony —he seems to feel that Penn's main interest, whether in Pennsylvania or in England, was to be active, working for immediate results, rather immaturely enjoying a feeling of importance at being physically present when things were done. Hull, under the heading "The Colonizer," gives the background and narrates the events leading up to the establishment of the colony; and then (p. 223) concludes: "The story of the first generation of Pennsylvania's, New Jersey's, and Delaware's history under the proprietorship of William Penn has often been told, and needs not to be retold here. It is a heroic one in itself; and it proves Penn a true hero, from the larger sphere of government down to the humbler one of attendance on the smallpox-stricken berths of the colonists whom he led across the Atlantic in the *Welcome*." This does not sound like the sober opinion of the historian; and does not tell whether as a colonizer Penn was really successful or not. And similarly with the episode of the president of Magdalen College, which many, following Macaulay, have taken as evidence of Penn's stupidity or venality or jesuitism. (Oddly enough, the entry "Magdalen College" does not appear in the index to Dobrée's work.) Hull tells the story briefly, and concludes: "Posterity has fully accepted his plea and acquitted him entirely of dishonesty and hypocrisy" (p. 262); but one misses his own wise and restrained pronouncement—he merely states that six out of nine biographers accept Clarkson's refutation of Macaulay's (unfavorable) version; "three of them appear to acquit Penn of intentional dishonesty, but are skeptical of his intelligence." The chapter closes with considerations of the practical difficulties which concerned Friends meet with in mingling in practical politics.

The *Topical Biography* however is a very valuable, and a very readable, book. It is well printed, abundantly illustrated (as Professor Hull's books usually are), and provided with such welcome helps as a chronological table of Penn's life (especially useful in a work of this kind), a chart of the Penn family, a bibliographical appendix, and an index.

The fourth of the Penn books, also by Professor Hull, traces the influence of Penn's life and theories in different lands, as evidenced by biographies of him written in the languages of those lands—though the Dutchman Croese's Latin biography, published at Amsterdam in 1695, was rather written for the scholar of Europe in general than for any

specific country. The introduction to Hull's book (pp. xiii-xviii) gives a brief though extraordinarily interesting account of the spreading of the story of Penn's achievements into foreign countries, serving as a background against which the eight biographies are separately considered.

Joseph Besse's biographical sketch included in the first edition (1726) of Penn's collected works is the first English biography—largely, indeed, an autobiography, though not adequately serving as the real autobiography which Penn admirers long hoped to find; and long remained the principal storehouse of facts. In America, Mason L. Weems, now thought to have been the inventor of the cherry-tree story in his life of Washington, tried his hand at Penn (1822), embellishing the story as he had embellished Washington's story. For the first Dutch biography the appropriate chapters in Sewel's history of the Quaker movement are considered; though as Sewel published his history in 1717, the year before Penn's death, there is no account of his last years and no attempt to sum of his life and character.

The first German biography, by W. A. Teller, is known only by references to it, for no copy is now known. It is listed in a memorial sermon preached by J. E. Troeschel, including a bibliography of Teller's writings; there it is said to have been published at Berlin in 1779; perhaps it was published anonymously. The Germans have been dependent upon articles in their encyclopedias. In France, Jean de Marsillac, whose interesting career in France and America is referred to above in the review of Henry van Etten's *Chronique de la vie Quaker française,* wrote *La vie de Guillaume Penn* in 1791; he regarded Penn as primarily an American statesman. In the Spanish of Spain, no biography of Penn has appeared—but in Mexico an English memoir of Penn was translated and published by the Association of Friends for the Diffusion of Religious and Useful Knowledge in 1879, under the title *Memorias de Gulliermo Penn.* In Italy, as in Germany, an encyclopedic article gives information about Penn.

This book, like the preceding, has an "Epitome of Penn's Life" and an index; and the numerous illustrations, many being reproductions of title pages of books discussed, are an acceptable feature. In the nature of things this is a bibliographical work, and has copious notes. It is, one would say, a scholar's book; but that does not say that it is a dry book. Professor Hull tells enough about each book to make the author's point of view clear and to give the reader a sense of acquaintance with the book discussed.

The author notes the hazard of calling anything the first of its kind (p. xiii). He mentions Weems as the first (1822) American biographer of Penn; but he appears to have overlooked or intentionally to have disregarded a notice in *Quakeriana Notes,* No. 8, p. 12, by Henry J. Cadbury, of a book called *Some Memoirs of the Religious Life of William Penn,* published in 1806 at Brattleboro by Daniel Cooledge of Walpole.

THE LIFE

OF

WILLIAM PENN,

THE

SETTLER OF PENNSYLVANIA,

THE

Founder of Philadelphia, and one of the First Lawgivers in the Colonies, now United States, in 1682.

CONTAINING ALSO

His celebrated treaty with the Indians—his purchase of their country—valuable anecdotes of Admiral Penn—also of King Charles II, King James II, King William, and Queen Anne, in whose reigns William Penn lived—curious circumstances that led him to become a Quaker—with a view of the admirable traits in the character of the people called FRIENDS or QUAKERS, who have done so much to meliorate the condition of suffering humanity.

BENJN BUSSEY

BY M. L. WEEMS,
Author of the Life of Washington, &c.

Character of William Penn, by Montesquieu.

"William Penn is a real Lycurgus. And though the former made PEACE his principal aim, as the latter did WAR: yet they resemble one another in the singular way of living to which they reduced their people—in the astonishing ascendant they gained over freemen; and in the strong passions which they subdued."

Character of William Penn, by Edmund Burke.

"William Penn, as a Legislator, deserves immortal thanks from the whole world. 'Tis pleasing to do honour to those *great men* whose *virtues* and *generosity* have contributed to the peopling of the earth, and to the *Freedom and happiness* of *mankind*; and who have preferred the interest of a remote Posterity and times unknown, to their own fortune, and to the quiet and security of their own lives."

PHILADELPHIA:
H. C. CAREY AND I. LEA——CHESNUT STREET.

1822.

Title Page of the First Edition of Weems's Life of William Penn

In his Introduction, Hull refers to the difficulties of finding some of the books in America. All but two of them—the Spanish one and Teller's German one—are reported by the Union Library Catalog in Washington. Weems's first edition turns up in six libraries (only the Athenaeum in Philadelphia), Sewel's 1717 edition in four (including Haverford and Swarthmore), Marsillac in an even dozen, half of them in the environs of Philadelphia; and so it goes. If Teller was published anonymously he may yet be discovered. This book is a welcome compilation, and a skilful interpretation, of pioneer Penn biographies.

T. K. B.

The Story of Baltimore Yearly Meeting from 1672 to 1938, compiled by Anna Braithwaite Thomas. Baltimore, The Weant Press, Inc., [1928]. 142 + xiii pp.; illustrated with a map; $1.00; obtainable from the author at 240 West Lanvale St., Baltimore, Md.

THIS account of Baltimore Quakerism, beginning with a time before the establishment of an annual meeting, through the visit of John Burnyeat and George Fox in 1672 with the resulting setting up of the meeting, through the difficulties with oaths, with slavery, with the separation, with the Revolution and the Civil War, indicates clearly but doubtless unconsciously the vital participation of the author in the work of the meeting—not by recounting her activities but by revealing how closely she felt herself identified with the meeting. Herself of a distinguished Quaker family with international Quaker interests, married in 1878 into a distinguished Quaker family in Baltimore, she could say of the achievements of the meeting (though she does not), like Aeneas telling the story of Troy: *quorum magna fui pars.* She makes clear the special character of Baltimore meeting as distinct from Philadelphia or New York or any other; and is careful to record the seal of approval placed by London Friends upon Baltimore as the meeting which kept most faithfully to the old Quaker principles. The story tells much about specific persons and concrete events; one picturesque episode is a reminiscence of public worship in Baltimore during part of the Civil War. Most of the churches suspended services, but Friends drove to their meeting house, hitched their horses, and worshiped in the usual way. But during meeting soldiers came and took the horses and carriages away; and messengers stole in to tell one Friend or another of the threatened loss. Some went out to protect their property, some stayed serenely in the meeting till its close, and then, finding their conveyance gone, walked home; but in the end, it is believed, all recovered their property.

One regrets the absence of an index, which would have facilitated reference to persons and places—all such books should have indexes; but one is glad to have the record made for all to read.

T. K. B.

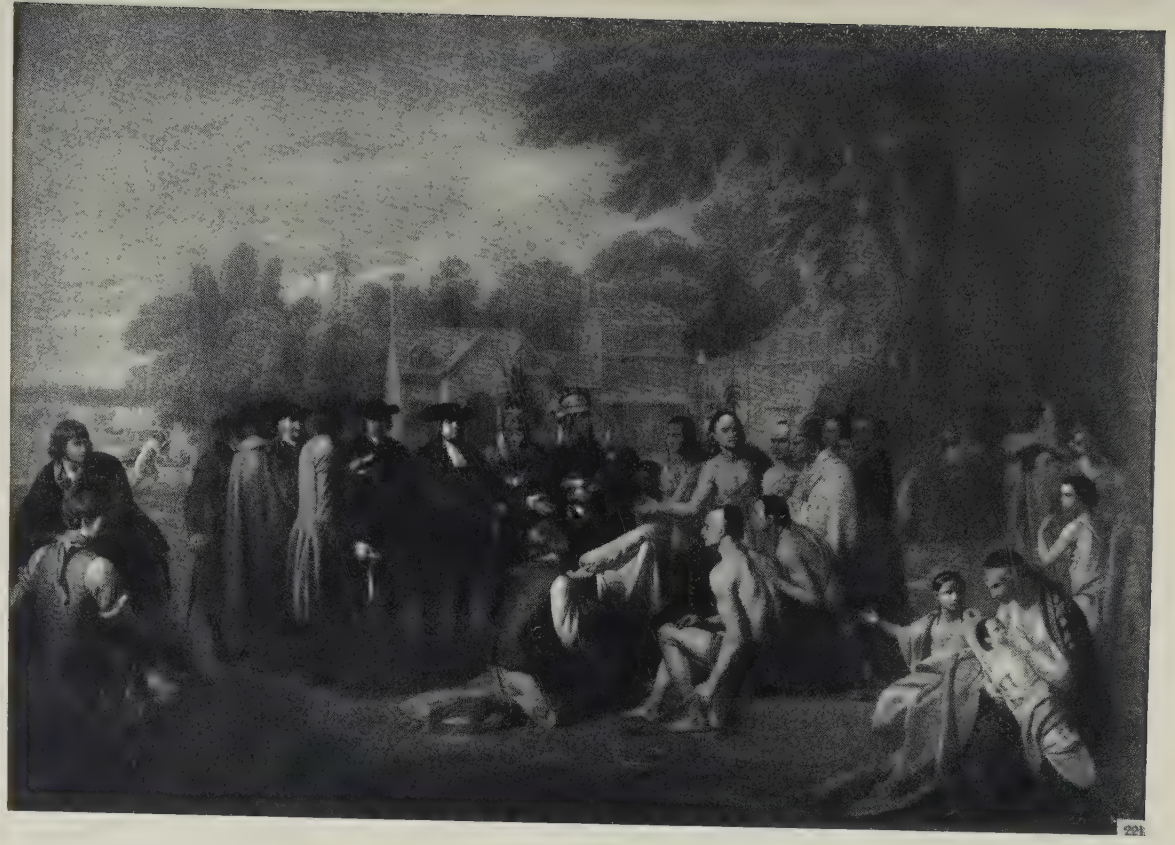
Children of Light, [*Studies*] *In Honor of Rufus M. Jones,* edited by Howard H. Brinton. New York, Macmillan, 1938. xii + 416 pp. Illustrated with portrait of Rufus M. Jones. $3.50.

"THE essays in this book," says the Introduction, "have been written by students of Quaker history in honor of Rufus M. Jones . . . , presented on his seventy-fifth birthday as an affectionate tribute of gratitude and admiration. . . ." Historical rather than philosophical essays were invited because Rufus Jones "has contributed more widely than any person now living to the knowledge and understanding of the history of the Society of Friends." The fifteen contributors deal with a wide variety of subjects, and readers will doubtless select one or another according to their special interest. Two deal with William Penn—as a theologian, and as a constitution-maker. Two deal with Edward Byllynge, proprietor of West Jersey—one, by Violet Holdsworth, showing the patient and minute genealogical and historical research by means of which the obscure details of early Quaker history are being slowly filled in; the other, by John L. Nickalls, telling of the evidence of Byllynge's influence on the first constitution of West Jersey. Two deal with early Quakers' knowledge of foreign tongues, Henry Cadbury telling of their use of Hebrew and Anna Cox Brinton of their Latin writings. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton is the subject of a biographical article, as are Joseph Hewes, the Quaker signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Timothy Nicholson, Candle of the Lord. Space fails to touch upon all the articles; but mention should be made of the impressive bibliography of the works of Rufus Jones, and of an excellent index, which will make the separate contributions to Quaker knowledge more easily accessible.

This is a book for Quaker historical browsing. It suffers the disadvantage of discontinuity, and enjoys the advantage of variety. The names of the contributors insure the quality of the articles. Among the three or four great names of contemporary students of Quaker history that are not represented, one misses most one that could not well have been included—that of the scholar and teacher in whose honor the volume was published.

Pennsylvania 1681-1756: The State without an Army. By E. Dingwall and E. A. Heard. London, C. W. Daniel, 1937. 134 pp. 3 *s.* 6 *d.*

THIS convenient study of colonial Pennsylvania was written because the authors felt that the present time, when would-be peaceful governments feel themselves to be irresistibly drawn into war by warlike activities about them, requires a renewed study of the experience of one state that did attempt to maintain itself without an army. It specifically disclaims being a biography of William Penn, but has much to do with Penn's life, devoting one chapter to "The Founder of Pennsylvania" and one to "The Granting of the Charter." A third chapter discusses "The Frame of Government," stressing Penn's view that government is "a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end," and listing



Penn's Treaty with the Indians
Painting in the State House ("Independence Hall") in Philadelphia, by Benjamin West

its fine essential characteristics as democracy, religious liberty, justice to settlers and aborigines, the absence of a militia even for defense, and the abolition of oaths. Minor regulations are referred to, such as the use of prisons as an instrument of reform rather than vengeance, the limitation of lawyers' fees, and the education of poor children at public expense. Later chapters tell of Pennsylvania as Penn found it and as it grew under his constitution, of his treatment of the Indians (one of the longer chapters), of difficulties in the actual government, of the beginning of injustice to the Indians and its resulting complications, of pressure from the outside due to the rivalry of England and France, which led to the popular feeling that a standing army was a practical necessity; and finally of the withdrawal of Friends from politics in 1756. Thus the "Holy Experiment," markedly successful as long as the Founder's principles were followed, did not succeed in maintaining itself in the world as it then was, and was deemed to have failed. The book is intended as a sort of primer from which one may judge whether it really failed, or whether the world about it failed. The answer will depend on what one means by "fail."

T. K. B.

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

The Friend (London)

TENTH Month 28, 1938, pp. 920-22. As background information for the special peace issue of *The Friend* (London), John L. Nickalls, Librarian of Friends Reference Library, has an article, "The Quaker Peace Testimony: Some Notes on its History." He traces the varied expression of Quaker peace principles, from the absolutist position of Fox's day to the humanitarian activities of the present, and maintains that an effective peace program must be based on an inner religious experience.

Eleventh Month 4, 1938, pp. 959-60. "Friends Service, Some Historical Notes on a War-time Committee," recounts some of the early steps in 1915 by which a "Friends Service Committee" was formed to deal with the problem of a peaceful service as an alternative to combatant service. This committee was the original form of the present Friends Service Council in England and the inspiration for the organization of the American Friends Service Committee.

Eleventh Month 11, 1938, p. 992. Cutlers' Hall, one of the units in the group of medieval buildings which belong to Friends in Bristol and are known as Quakers Friars, has recently been restored. It was re-dedicated on Saturday, November 5, 1938, with ceremonies recalling its use by Dominican Friars in the fourteenth century, by the Cutlers' Guild in Queen Elizabeth's time, and by Friends since 1845.

November 18, 1938, pp. 1018-19. In an account of the 250th anniversary celebration of the Winchmore Hill Meeting House, Tottenham Monthly Meeting, Middlesex, it is recalled that Thomas Shillitoe was a member of the meeting, and that Dr. John Fothergill was buried at Winchmore Hill in 1780.

December 2, 1938, p. 1091. Plans are being drawn up to commemorate, on either June 24 or July 1, 1939, the tercentenary of the birth of Thomas Ellwood at his burial place at Jordans. It is also hoped that a new edition of Ellwood's autobiography will be forthcoming during this year.

The Friend (Philadelphia)

ELEVENTH Month 3, 1938, pp. 154-55. In an article on "The Value of Quaker Biography," Ernest E. Taylor, an English Friend, emphasizes his conviction that interest and inspiration are the rewards of reading in the extensive literature of Quaker lives. His list of the twelve "best" Quaker biographies is a highly individual one, drawn up primarily to arouse discussion.

Twelfth Month 15, 1938, pp. 211-14. The Germantown Friends Library was for fifty years after its founding in 1845 the only public library in Germantown, according to an account of its history by Elizabeth Gray Vining. Fiction has been excluded from its shelves by reason of early conviction and the specific restriction of some of its endowment funds, but the Library has not suffered from lack of popular patronage as a result, and it is increasingly the "intellectual center and the resort for youth" that its founders hoped it would be.

Friends Intelligencer

TWELFTH Month 27, 1938, p. 866. Walt Whitman's appreciative estimate of Elias Hicks as an orator is reprinted from an article by Whitman in the old *Century Magazine* (vol. 33, p. 584). Comparing him to Father Taylor, a Boston preacher, he said, "Both had the same inner, apparently inexhaustible, fund of volcanic passion, the same tenderness, blended with a curious remorseless firmness, as of some surgeon operating on a beloved patient. Hearing such men sends to the winds all the books, and formulas, and polished speaking, and rules of oratory."

THOMAS E. DRAKE.

BRIEFER NOTICES

By Henry J. Cadbury

CAPTAIN Jonathan Brownell, who raised the first militia company in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, at the start of the Revolution, was a Friend, and was dismissed from the meeting for doing so, but he does not appear later among Rhode Island soldiers. According to *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections,* 32 (1939) : 22 f his later career is revealed by Providence Town Papers. He came to Providence and was taken with smallpox. There is a bill for doctor's care, nursing, and medicine, and also information that he worked off most of this bill by going to war as a substitute for the celebrated Moses Brown.

ELIZABETH FRY, by Janet Payne Whitney, which was reviewed in the Bulletin, 25 (1936), No. 2, p. 92, has been so successful that a cheaper edition is planned, to be priced at five shillings. May the book in this form receive even wider circulation.

THE BEEHIVE, of Germantown, Pennsylvania, which according to its cover was originated by Francis Daniel Pastorius in 1696, contains in its issue for January 1939 an article entitled "A Quaker Boyhood in Germantown," by William W. Comfort.

WILLIAM SAWITZKY contributed an illustrated article on "The American Work of Benjamin West" to the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* vol. 62 (1938) : 433-462, celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Quaker artist.

A STUDY of Andrew Bradford (1686-1742), principal printer for the Society of Friends in America for three decades, is published by Anna Janney DeArmond, of the University of Delaware, in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 62 (1938) : 463-487.

JOHN W. GARRETT of Evergreen has probably the best collection of books on Maryland in Maryland. In *The Maryland Historical Magazine,* vol. 34 (1939) : 1-39 he writes on "Seventeenth Century Books relating to Maryland," and gives a check list from 1612 to 1700 with references to copies in over 120 libraries. Of 109 items in this list at least twenty are written by Friends.

BEGINNING in vol. 61 (1937), Philip S. Klein has published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* in several instalments, "The Memoirs of a Senator from Pennsylvania," as written by Jonathan Roberts (1771-1854). The last instalment, vol. 62 (1938) : 502-551, includes a statement of Jonathan Roberts's views of Quakerism (p. 541 f) ; he was a member of the Society of Friends from birth until near his fortieth year.

PROFESSOR G. F. Hershberger's article, "Pacifism and the State in Colonial Pennsylvania," published in *Church History,* 8 (1939) : 54-74, contains a variant form of the argument of the article noticed in these pages, vol. 27 (1938) : 52, though neither that article is mentioned here nor the book on the subject which the same writer had in prospect. The fate of the Holy Experiment in 1756 is treated as evidence that one cannot be a pacifist and remain in government.

EDWARD D. SNYDER'S "Whittier Returns to Philadelphia after a Hundred Years" in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* 62 (1938) : 140 ff is based largely on correspondence and on a notebook kept by Whittier's friend, Elizabeth Nicholson.

SOCIAL Activities of the English Friends in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century (xiv + 292 pp.) by Isabel McKenzie, is the title of a thesis for the doctor's degree printed for the author in 1935. Dr. McKenzie, using original manuscript material both in England and America, as well as printed sources, deals successively with the relation of Friends to education, to the insane, to the reform of the penal code, and to the reform of prisons. Especially conspicuous in her pages are William Allen, William Tuke, and Elizabeth Fry. The work is well printed and well documented, with an analytical table of contents (but no index) and a full bibliography.

ROBERT P. FALK writes in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* 62 (1938) : 52 ff on the question "Thomas Paine, Deist or Quaker?" His conclusion is that Paine's socialism at least was Quaker, and was more important than his deistic individualism.

"ROGER HAYDOCK of Coppull: a Brief Biography and Ten Original Letters" is the title of a sixty-six page monograph by T. C. Porteus in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. lii (1937). The subject was an influential Friend (1643-1696) whose career alternated between extensive travels and imprisonment. Here are brought together from various sources the facts for an outline of that career and of his friends and family. He visited Holland and Germany but never America, though his son migrated to this country and became the ancestor of the American Quaker Haydocks. His friends the Harrisons and Pembertons were among the first Friends to settle in Pennsylvania, and the ten letters, dating from 1674 to 1695, are still preserved there. Except one to Roger Longworth they are all addressed to Phineas Pemberton, for whom after he left Lancashire Roger Haydock and his brother John became business representatives. The letters are carefully and fully transcribed from photostats of the originals at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and are well annotated, as all such documents deserve to be.

A DETAILED account of Dr. Robert Dimsdale (c. 1633-1733) is contributed by Milton Rubincam to the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 57 (1939) : 98-107. He bought sundry lands in West Jersey and Pennsylvania and settled finally about 1684 near what is now Lumberton, New Jersey. But he remained only a few years and except for a short visit to America about 1713, when he married as his second wife Sarah, daughter of Judge Francis Collins, pioneer settler of Haddonfield, he lived in his native Hertfordshire, having a home at Bishop's Stortford. Although the article cites details from many and varied sources, Besse's *Sufferings* have been overlooked, which indicates that in 1663 "Robert Dimsdale, for practising Physick without the Bishop's License, was excommunicated and sent to Prison where he lay several Years," and that in 1672 when other prisoners were discharged by the famous King's Letters Patent he was continued a prisoner on a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* (Besse, i, 244, 250).

AN ACCOUNT of the visit of a traveling Friend Priscilla [Cadwallader?] to Nantucket in 1832 is given in a letter by her companion Jane Johnson to John Merritt of New York, printed in the Nantucket *Inquirer and Mirror* for December 4, 1937.

THE Unpublished Letters of Bayard Taylor in the Huntington Library (edited by John Richie Schultz, San Marino, California, 1937), would have a Quaker interest as do all accounts of this friend and neighbor of so many Friends. But for the first time is disclosed here one of his most intimate correspondents, "Pattie," a Philadelphia Quakeress (see pp. xiv f, 16). Twenty letters to her are published in this volume. She is apparently Martha Kimber (d. 1886), daughter of Emmor Kimber (1775-1850) and sister of Abigail Kimber (1804-1871) and Gertrude K. Burleigh (1816-1869). The family came from Kimberton, Chester County, and hence were old neighbors of Taylor. Some account of Pattie's father and two sisters may be found in R. C. Smedley, *History of the Underground Railroad,* 1883, p. 194 ff.

A MOST understanding analysis of the Quaker conscience in general and of the peculiar inner conflict of John Woolman in particular is to be found in the last of the six chapters in Willard L. Sperry's book, *Strangers and Pilgrims: Studies in Classics of Christian Devotion* (Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1939).

A NINETY-FIVE page brochure in *Ohio Historical Collections* (vol. 7, 1937), by Ruth Anna Ketring, deals with "Charles Osborn in the Anti-slavery Movement." Superseding all earlier works it indicates precisely the role he played as a worker against slavery in the Society of Friends for thirty-six years, and as the bridge between the early movement in the South and the later movement in the North.

THE *Centennial Edition of the Works of Rowland E. Robinson* (Charles E. Tuttle, Rutland, Vermont) has now reached seven volumes. He was a Vermont farmer of Quaker stock (1833-1900). His own delightful "Recollections of a Quaker Boy" are reprinted in vol. vi.

THE "Friends of Nantucket" is a brief essay by Helen Winslow, which won the first prize in the Nantucket Historical Association's essay contest and is printed in the *Proceedings* of the Association, 1936, pp. 31-33.

IN *Old Time New England,* xxvi (1935): 26-31, Albert L. Partridge contributes an article on "Benjamin Bagnall of Boston, Clockmaker," with half a dozen pictures of his surviving clocks. Born in England in 1689, Bagnall settled quite young in Boston. As early as 1717 the city negotiated with him to build a public clock. He was a promiment and influential member of the Society of Friends in Boston until his death in 1773. He had several children by his first wife, Elizabeth Shove of Charlestown. His second wife, who survived him, was Sarah Redwood of Newport. He is classed by experts with Peter Stretch among the early clockmakers of America. Further information about Bagnall could have been obtained by the author if he had consulted Quaker sources.

FROM Elihu Coleman to Lucretia Mott—Friends play a conspicuous part in the account of "Anti-Slavery in Nantucket," by James Monaghan in the *Proceedings* of the Nantucket Historical Association, 1938, pp. 23-26.

HELEN L. DREW in *American Literature* ix (1937): 243 f argues that "The Schoolmaster in *Snow-Bound*" was George Haskell, not Joshua Coffin.

THE *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections,* xxx, no. 3 (July 1937) has for its title cut a picture of the chest presented to the town of Hopkinton by Stephen Hopkins in 1757 for the preservation of its records. The chest is in the Society's museum at Providence, Rhode Island.

IN THE *Review of English Studies,* xiv (1938), Professor Grace B. Sherrer of Kent, Ohio, writes on "Francis Mercury van Helmont, a Neglected Contribution to the Science of Language," showing how the man who subsequently became a Quaker anticipated the modern analysis of the organs of speech and the modern technique by which deaf mutes are taught to understand and to talk by observing the physiological conditions of speaking persons.

The index to volumes 21-25 of the BULLETIN is now in press, and will be published within a short time. Copies will be sent gratis to those who apply for them to the Secretary.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, September 4, 1864.

Eliza P. Gurney.

My esteemed friend.

I have not forgotten — probably never shall forget — the very impressive occasion when yourself and friends visited me on a Sabbath forenoon two years ago. Nor has your kind letter, written nearly a year later, ever been forgotten. In all, it has been your purpose to strengthen my reliance on God. I am much indebted to the good Christian people of the country for their constant prayers and consolations; and to no one of them, more than to yourself. The purposes of the Almighty are perfect, and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to accurately perceive them in advance. We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war long before this; but God knows best, and has not seen otherwise. We shall yet acknowledge His wisdom and our own error therein. Meanwhile we must work earnestly in the best light He gives us, trusting that so working still conduc-

ces to the great ends He ordains. Surely He intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could make, and no mortal could stay.

Your people — the Friends — have had, and are having, a very great trial. Our principles, and faith, opposed to both war and oppression, they can only practically oppose oppression by war. In this hard dilemma, some have chosen one horn and some the other. For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds, I have done, and shall do, the best I could and can, in my own conscience, under my oath to the laws. That you believe this I do not, and believing it, I shall still receive, for our country and myself, your earnest prayers to our Father in Heaven.

Your sincere friend

A. Lincoln.